CHOU EN-LAI
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The People's New Literature

FOUR REPORTS AT THE ALL-CHINA CONFERENCE

OF WRITERS & ARTISTS

THE PEOPLE'S NEW LITERATURE

Four reports at the All-China Conference
of Writers and Artists

Cultural Press, Peking
1950
P. O. Box 6, Peking, China

26/4/57 - 9 Kč

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FOREWORD

In the thirty odd years since the May Fourth Movement, the progressive and democratic writers and artists of China, emerging from the 'ivory tower', have discarded the viewpoint of 'art for art's sake', and come to see the truth of 'art for life's sake'. The great author Lu Hsun was the forerunner and standard-bearer in this revolutionary movement of literature. New literature, drama, music and art workers have actively participated in the struggle against imperialism, feudalism and bureaucratic-capitalism. During the years of the War of Resistance against Japan (1937-1945), and the last three and a half years of the People's Liberation War, they have contributed much in the way of mobilisation, propaganda and education. Many of them have fought against the enemy, now with the gun, now with the pen. And not a few of them have shed their last drop of blood for the cause.

By the end of the summer in 1949, the Liberation War had secured the victory on a nation-wide scale. In July, on the eve of the People's Political Consultative

Conference, and before the inauguration of the Central People's Government, a conference unprecedented in the history of China was convened in Peking — the First All-China Conference of Writers and Artists.

This Conference, attended by seven hundred and fifty-three delegates, came to a successful conclusion after two weeks' strenuous work.

At the Conference, Comrade Chou En-lai, now Premier of the Government Administration Council, reviewed the then existing political and military situation, and, at the same time, dealt with some important problems concerning literature and art. Mr. Kuo Mo-jo, well known writer and historian, now Deputy Premier, made a report on "The Struggle for the Creation of New China's Literature". Mr. Mao Tun, eminent novelist, now Minister of Cultural Affairs, and Comrade Chou Yang, famous literary critic, now Vice-Minister of Cultural Affairs, made their respective reports on the literary and art movement in the former Kuomintang Controlled Areas and in the Liberated Areas. The policy for the literary and art movement in New China was discussed and decided upon at the Conference, in the same direction as pointed out by Mao Tse-tung, the great leader of the Chinese people: namely, literature and art should serve the people, especially the workers, peasants and soldiers.

The democratic and progressive writers and artists, who had hitherto been compelled to fight separately for the common goal in the Liberated Areas and in the former Kuomintang Controlled Areas, could now assemble in one hall, more united than ever before. They began to join hands with the old-style actors, who spread unwittingly

through antiquated dramatic forms old ideas over a long period of feudalistic rule. Thus, throughout the country, a great united front has come into being, comprising all the writers and artists who are willing to work for the liberation from imperialism and feudalism and who are ready to take part in the reconstruction for New Democracy.

At the Conference, an art exhibition on a big scale was held, showing paintings, cartoons, woodcuts, oil colours, water colours and plastics. The dramatic troupes from various localities, armies, schools, and factories presented new operas, ballets, plays, Yangko plays, Yangko dances, old-style operas, and many other kinds of popular entertainments. This great exhibition, therefore, represented arts of all forms and all people in China. And the Conference itself became a great festival of literature and art and of culture in general.

At the closing session, delegates voted unanimously for the establishment of the "All-China Federation of Writers and Artists". Outstanding writers and artists of the whole country were elected to the standing committee with Kuo Mo-jo as the Chairman of the Federation and Mao Tun and Chou Yang as his deputies.

There are many organisations under the Federation, such as the All-China Association of Literary Workers, All-China Association of Dramatic Workers, All-China Association of Music Workers, All-China Association of Art Workers, All-China Association of Cinema Workers, All-China Association of Dancing Art Workers, All-China Association for the Reformation of Old-style Operas.

The following four reports, we hope, may be of some help to our friends — the progressive, democratic and peace-loving peoples of all countries in the world, who wish to understand the purpose and significance of this Conference.

Six months have elapsed since the end of the Conference. During this period, the Chinese People's Liberation Army has won more victories. There is no longer any room left for the imperialists and their stooges in China except in Taiwan, Hainan Island and Tibet, as we have ousted the American imperialists and Chiang Kai-shek's reactionaries from the mainland. "The Chinese people, numbering one fourth of the human race, are now standing on their own feet."

After the Conference in July, the whole country and all the big Field Armies have seen the rapid growth of literary and art movement. To date, about twenty provinces and big cities have branches of the Federation. And the branches of the Association of Literary Workers exist in eighteen localities, and, in some places, there are also organisations of drama, music, and other art workers. Some administrative regions, such as the Northeastern Provinces, Hopei and Shansi, called their own conferences of writers and artists. These organisations and conferences have formed the basis for a broad union of the literary and artistic world. It was unanimously agreed that literature and art should serve the people in the liberation war and national reconstruction, and that, with this aim in view, literary writings should represent the new China, the new cause, the new people, and also the new type of heroism. The

Fourth Field Army established the Working Committee of Literature and Art, and started the movement for creative writing. The Third Field Army, too, called a conference of writers and artists, which reviewed the past experiences and set down a program for future activities.

The All-China Federation of Writers and Artists has published *The Literary Journal*, and the All-China Association of Literary Workers *The People's Literature* as their respective organs, which are enjoying a nation-wide circulation. Other national publications include *The People's Art*, *The People's Drama* and *The People's Music*. Besides, all branches of the Federation and their subordinate societies have their own periodicals. In the past six months, about forty magazines and nearly two hundred books on literature and art have made their appearance.

Because the importance of uniting with the actors of the old school and improving the old-fashioned operas was particularly stressed at the Conference, a widespread movement for dramatic reform is under way. The Bureau for the Reformation of Old-style Operas was set up under the Ministry of Cultural Affairs. The leading artists of the Peking Opera, such as Mei Lan-fang, Chou Hsin-fang, Ch'eng Yen-ch'iu and many others, wholeheartedly support the reform. In the Northeastern Provinces, popular organisations for this movement have been established and at least over two hundred plays have been newly written or revised. Many local old-style opera troupes also take an active part and have produced a number of new shows. In Peking, Shanghai, Nanking and Tientsin, training classes for the opera artists of the old school have come

into operation. In Peking alone, over a thousand of them are being re-educated.

Our past experience has proved that only with the spontaneous and active participation of the numerous old-style actors can the dramatic reform movement attain any success.

The programme of the Federation in 1950 is to keep pace with the work of national reconstruction by mobilising all forces to popularise and to raise the standard of literature and art. The most important thing is of course to encourage creative writing and to enrich its ideological and artistic content through criticism, and to knit closely together all the local organisations, so that the activities of the Federation may be widespread among the people. For this purpose, the Federation has made it its immediate task to persuade and send writers and artists to the factories, villages, and armies, so that they may get acquainted with real life and fulfill their mission. Recently, over three hundred writers and artists have gone into the midst of the masses.

The Federation is devoting its attention to the education of young writers and artists. Apart from the contact with them through correspondence and the revision of their manuscripts, it also plans to start a Literary Institute for them, to which young men with writing experience and ability will be sent by various armies and regional organisations for one year's study. Such young men are numerous in the People's Liberation Army and the old Liberated Areas. The Federation is planning to increase its own social activities by sponsoring all kinds of meetings for discussion and lectures, and by intensifying literary training of the masses.

"Our people have always been a great, courageous and industrious people," said Chairman Mao. "We have united ourselves and defeated both our foreign and domestic oppressors in the People's Liberation War and the people's great revolution .... Our nation will from now on join the family of peace-loving and freedom-loving nations of the world to promote world peace and freedom. It will at the same time work bravely and diligently for the creation of happiness and a splendid civilisation. It will never live in humiliation. Indeed we are standing on our own feet again." He also remarked, "The upsurge of economic reconstruction will inevitably be followed by the upsurge of cultural movement. The era in which the Chinese were regarded as uncivilised is now over. We shall emerge as a highly cultured nation in the world." All the democratic and progressive writers and artists in China are now trying their utmost to portray the great, brave, and industrious new Chinese people. Along with the whole nation, they are working fervently in the direction pointed out by Chairman Mao.

March, 1950 *Emi Siao*

The People's Liberation War and Problems in Literature and Art

By Chou En-lai

Delegates!

Let me, first of all, congratulate you on the success of the All-China Conference of Writers and Artists — the union of the two great forces which have been compelled to work in two different regions since the set-back of China's First Great Revolution in 1927. Ever since the May Fourth Movement, our big new literary army has scored many victories. At one time, we defeated the feudalistic literature and, during the past 20 years, we ousted the fascist literature of the Kuomintang reactionaries and the literature of the traitors, which served the interests of the imperialists. We built up the broad literary front on Chairman Mao Tse-tung's new democratic literary theory. Many literary workers in the Liberated Areas went into the army, villages and recently into the factories, to serve

the masses of workers, farmers and soldiers. In the Kuomintang Controlled Areas, the revolutionary writers persisted in staying at their posts, never gave in despite oppression, and maintained the revolutionary literary traditions that we inherited from the May Fourth Movement. The All-China Association of Writers and Artists formed during the years of the War of Resistance against Japan in the Kuomintang Controlled Areas is one of the sponsors of the present Conference. Except a few reactionaries, almost all the literary workers have been united under the banner of new democracy and are taking part in this Conference.

We cannot but attribute this success in uniting the writers and artists to those friends who have been struggling under difficult conditions and persisting in staying at their posts; to the support given by the broad masses to the new literary movement; and, above all, to the great victory achieved by the People's Liberation Army. Without the military success it would be impossible for us to have such a big gathering in which more than 700 delegates participate. In the first part of my speech, therefore, I would like to talk about the general situation and the causes of our victory in the three years of the People's Liberation War, and the lessons to be drawn therefrom for our writers and artists.

Three Years of the People's Liberation War

Three years have elapsed since the People's Liberation War started in July, 1946. The military successes in these years are unprecedented in the Chinese history. Three years ago, the Kuomintang reactionaries, backed by the American imperialism, mobilised 4,300,000 men to

launch the attack. At that time, our People's Liberation Army had no more than 1,200,000 men. The odds were as many as 3,100,000 men. The reactionaries and their American masters were cocksure that they could defeat the People's Liberation Army. Many of our well wishers showed grave concern over us. We were grateful to these friends, but we assured them that the final victory of the war would be ours. In November, 1946, when I left Nanking, the capital of the Kuomintang Government, many newsmen asked me, "Will you come back?" I answered, "Certainly we will come back some day." Friends! Certainly we have returned to Nanking now, though it was the People's Liberation Army which entered Nanking, not our former delegation.

During the first year of the People's Liberation War, the enemy took the offensive. But after suffering a series of heavy reverses, they soon changed their strategy from an all-out offensive to regional attacks or attacks on the strategic points. During the second year of the war, we started the counter-offensive. Our field armies in North China and East China crossed the Yellow River and advanced southward to the north bank of the Yangtse River. Meanwhile, the People's Liberation Army in the Northeastern Provinces also launched an attack from North Manchuria on South Manchuria. In the third year of the war, we gained decisive victories in the offensive. Through the Tsinan campaign in September, 1948, the Mukden campaign in October, 1948, the Huai-hai campaign (November, 1948 — January, 1949) to the Peiping-Tientsin campaign (September, 1948 — January, 1949), Chiang Kai-shek's military strength was basically destroyed. Therefore, in April, 1949, when the People's

Liberation Army crossed the Yangtse River and marched southward, Chiang Kai-shek was already unable to organise a defense line of any significance. The past three years, beginning from July, 1946 to the present, saw a reduction of the Kuomintang military strength from 4,300,000 men to 1,490,000 men. A big part of this remaining force were the personnel of government organisations, schools and rear military establishments. Less than half of this number were combatant soldiers.

On the other hand, our People's Liberation Army has been increased from the original 1,200,000 men to more than 4,000,000 men. It is an interesting coincidence that the Kuomintang has lost 2,800,000 men and we have gained the same number of recruits. More than 2,200,000 of our troops are now advancing and mopping up the enemy's remnants, who are less than 800,000 in number and no longer able to fight. We have liberated 279,000,000 people, or 59 per cent of the Chinese population; 1061 cities, or 55 per cent of the Chinese cities; and more than 21,600 kilometers of railways, or 80 per cent of the Chinese railways. Except for the handful of naval and air forces that the enemy still possesses, the people have got the upper hand in everything. This situation has convinced us that the fourth year of the People's Liberation War will be the year in which we shall achieve the final victory on a national scale.

In these three years, our casualties have been 1,430,000 altogether, but those of the enemy exceeded 5,690,000 men. That is to say, one of our men killed or wounded four of our enemy. Of the 4,150,000 men cap-

tured, 2,800,000 were incorporated into our Liberation Army. During these three years we destroyed 495 regular enemy divisions. To this number should be added the irregulars that we have annihilated, and the total makes 2,150 regiments. Generals and division commanders who have been made prisoners total 927 persons. Within three years we captured more than 44,000 field-pieces, more than 250,000 heavy and light guns, more than 1,000,000 rifles and pistols, 140 air-planes, 123 warships, 582 tanks, 361 armored cars, 130,000 horses, more than 370,000,000 rifle and machine gun bullets and 3,110,000 artillery shells. We have made good use of these captured soldiers and weapons in routing the enemy.

How could the People's Liberation Army gain such a great victory? Of course it is because the war, carried on by this Army, is a just, patriotic and revolutionary one, fought in the interests of all the Chinese people. But here we should understand the true nature of the Army. After 20 years of great trials, it has become an army of high political consciousness, strict discipline, and resolute fighting spirit. And it has mastered the art of strategy and tactics. Especially during the recent three years, it has undergone a further ideological conversion. Why should I use the word conversion? It is because the bulk of the soldiers are captives of only yesterday. Without the process of the ideological conversion, they could not well keep the discipline of the Liberation Army. The effective means to achieve this end is to arouse their class consciousness, encourage the "grievance telling movement", the "threefold examination movement" — the examination of a person's class background, of his

ideology and of his working habit — and the "threefold public judgment movement" — the judgment of the cadres, of the party members and of the military merits of individuals. All these help the soldiers to realise the fact that they come from the labouring masses, and have been subjected to the oppression and exploitation of the reactionaries, and that the People's Liberation Army is their own army. And therefore for their own benefit, they should be united to fight against their oppressors and exploitors.

The People's Liberation Army, as mentioned above, is an army of strict discipline. But this discipline is the result of conscious and voluntary efforts. The Army, within its rank and file, has successfully lived up to the principle of military democracy, political democracy and economic democracy. Outside its rank and file, it pursues the policy of demoralising the enemy, securing support for the people's government, protecting and helping the people wherever possible and organising the masses to take part in the common activities beneficial to their particular region. This enables the commanders and soldiers to closely unite with the people, so as to raise incessantly their political consciousness, thereby securing a greater fighting strength.

Comrades and friends! When you write, you should not forget to portray the people's great army of this great era. And to the comrades here who represent the Political Department of the People's Revolutionary Military Council, the Propaganda Department of the Central Committee of he Communist Party and all the Liberation Armies, I suggest that you should take advantage of the

opportunity, when the war is still going on, to extend your warm welcome to the writers and artists who have not been with the People's Liberation Army, by inviting them to visit the troops and giving them every facility for their research and writing.

The People's Liberation Army is not alone in its fighting for the common cause. Two hundred million peasants have been the greatest force in support of the great war of liberation that has been in progress for the past three years. Meanwhile, over one hundred million peasants have carried on the struggle of agrarian reform and got their shares of land. And another hundred million peasants are getting ready to solve the land problem. In the not too distant future, a further two hundred million peasants will be induced into the high tides of agrarian reform. This, in agricultural China, is an epoch-making event. Profited by the reform, what has China's great peasantry endeavoured to contribute to the war? They send sons and husbands to the People's Liberation War; they supply us both at the front and in the rear with food they have produced and saved; they join local militia and become voluntary labourers, not only maintaining order in the rear but also following the troops to the front, where they do all sorts of work for the war. Wherever the fighting is over, enthusiasm for production is sure to follow. Comrades! Friends! We have relied on our great, industrious and brave peasants to achieve the victory of to-day. We should be thankful to these great compatriots of ours, especially those in the old Liberated Areas. Although they still have backward leanings, which we should endeavour patiently to correct, yet their brave, industrious, persevering and

frugal qualities are worthy of our praise and publicity. So we hope that our writers and artists, who are already familiar with rural life, will continue to work in the midst of the peasants and render them service. As to those who have not been to the farming district and are not acquainted with the life of the peasantry, we welcome them, earnestly hoping that they may learn from, and make friends with, the peasants so that they may write about the achievements of their unflinching and heroic struggles.

The victory of the People's Liberation War should also be attributed to the efforts of the working class. Although a great part of our twenty-two years of struggle has been carried on in the countryside, yet it is not without the link with the workers. In fact, politically speaking, it has been waged under the leadership of the vanguard of the working class, the Communist Party of China. Even while actually in the rural district, we could not do without workers. First, a large scale war could not be materialised without the production of arms. True, our weapons were mainly supplied by the enemy, but our ammunition had to be mostly provided by ourselves. In this respect, we relied on our workers. Thus, huge boilers had to be carried by thousands of men from the mines and workshops to the T'aihang Mountains, the Wut'ai Mountains and the Yimeng Mountains, where we built arsenals, which turned out tens of millions of hand grenades, millions of howitzer shells, and several hundred thousand field-gun shells. Up to the second half of last year, our production figures for this kind of ammunition and dynamite already exceeded those of the Kuomintang

reactionaries. In addition to war factories, we also developed in the countryside various light industries on a small scale, which answered the military and civil needs. To-day, as we have got hold of the big cities, we are in a different position. We have now to depend directly on the working class to revive and develop our industry. The working class is daily becoming the leading force in the reconstruction of China, and consequently an important theme in our literary and artistic creation.

A writer or an artist is a spiritual labourer, and therefore, broadly speaking, a member of the working class. He has, nevertheless, much to learn from the manual labourers, for he generally works as an individual (of course, many choirs, dramatic societies and cinema studios have collective activities), and this characteristic of his routine tends to make him an anti-collectivist. Hence, writers and artists should make a special effort to learn from the working class the spirit of collectivism.

The victory of the People's Liberation War depends very much on the united front formed by the peasants, workers, revolutionary intellectuals and all the democratic patriotic citizens, as well as on the People's Liberation Army. Fundamentally speaking, the most decisive factor of this victory lies in the correct guidance of Comrade Mao Tse-tung, the leader of the Chinese people; and in the correct leadership of the Chinese Communist Party, which organised the people's revolution. The Chinese Communist Party, since its birth to maturity, has seen errors and failures, but Chairman Mao has always been in the right track. We all know that the enemy of the Chinese revolution is not a simple one. Several thousand

years of feudalistic rule and over a hundred years of aggression by foreign capitalists and imperialists have found a joint expression in the reactionary dictatorship of Chiang Kai-shek. We should thank Chairman Mao for his correct application of the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism to the practice of China's revolution — a factor, which accounts for the great strength required to defeat the formidable enemy. We now call on everybody to learn from Comrade Mao in incorporating revolutionary theory into revolutionary practice. We also call on all progressive writers and artists to endeavour to understand the Communist Party, which has been inseparably united with the life and struggle of the Chinese people. Without a real understanding of the Party, it will be impossible to understand and represent correctly the life and struggle of the Chinese in literature or art. Comrade Liu Shao-Ch'i has said every now and then that party commissioners of all ranks should make friends with writers and artists so that they may help, and learn from, each other. We hope that all of you will make efforts towards achieving this end.

Finally, we must point out how the people's forces of the world have influenced and assisted in the liberation struggles of the Chinese nation. The Chinese people obtained not only great assistance from the world anti-fascist front, headed by the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, during their victorious war of resistance against Japan, but also considerable help from the world camp of peace and democracy, headed also by the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, during the war of liberation. The fact that the imperialist group has placed its major strength in the West and its minor strength in the East

constitutes the first important condition favourable to the revolution of China. The existence and the strength of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, the existence and the development of the new democratic countries, the realities and the victory of the Chinese people's revolution, the realities of the anti-imperialist struggle of all the oppressed peoples of the world, the realities of the revolutionary movement of the proletariat and anti-war movement of the peace-loving peoples in the capitalist countries — the total strength of all these forces far exceeds that of the reactionaries in all lands. A great possibility, therefore, does exist either to prevent the outbreak of a new world war or to prevent the American imperialists from further intervention in China by armed forces. One of the tasks of our writers and artists is to inculcate such truth upon our compatriots throughout the country. We should make a clear distinction between the enemy and ourselves, expose the crimes of the imperialists and subdue the yelling of the war-mongers, whose menace, provocation and deceit should be laid bare. That we should attend to this solemn work is determined by the interests of the Chinese people, and of the peoples all over the world. This indeed is the right union of patriotism and internationalism.

Some Problems in Art and Literature

In the second part of my speech, I propose to talk about some of the problems confronting the artists and writers.

The first is the problem of unity.

Here is the big rally of the literary and art world. The 753 delegates attending the Conference are indeed

genuinely representative. At present there are between 25,000 and 30,000 literary and art workers including members of choirs and propaganda teams, which are serving in the four big field armies and their subordinate army groups, and in other military organisations of the five great military areas. In addition, the number of the writers and artists working in the various regions of the liberated area is estimated to be over 20,000. These two groups amount approximately to 60,000 men. The number working in the Kuomintang Controlled Areas cannot be easily estimated, but it is safe to say that it does exceed 10,000. Thus, the 753 delegates here speak on behalf of 70,000 or so literary and art workers of the new school, each on the average representing 100 men. In addition, there are a great number of writers and artists of the old school. I hope that, on your return from the Conference, you will lead the writers and artists of the new as well as of the old school, in the various walks of life, to further enhance the spirit of solidarity as demonstrated in this congress. I hope also that you will constantly keep in close touch with this vast army of writers and artists, whose real representatives you should always strive to be.

The second problem is that of serving the people. Everybody approves of it as a slogan. The urgent demand is how to carry it out. We should first of all examine what we are familiar with and what we are not. In the army the literary and art workers are familiar with army life, and know something of the rural districts, but are strangers to the labour and urban conditions. In the various regions of the liberated area,

they are only acquainted with the peasants; they know very little of the army, still less of the conditions in the cities. Other comrades from the new Liberated Areas, owing to the limitations imposed upon them by their former surroundings, have not been able in the past to penetrate into the broad masses. But the circumstances to-day have changed; they have the opportunity of doing so. Therefore, I propose that you first and foremost acquaint yourselves with the workers, farmers and soldiers, because they are the main components of the people, and because most of you attending this Conference are not yet familiar with or not entirely familiar with them, while you know very well the life, thought and feeling of the petty bourgeoisie.

Our first task should aim at understanding the workers. At present, the writers and artists in the various walks of life, in general, know almost nothing about them, with the result that writings about them are very few. We hope that soon there will be a large batch of writers and artists to go into the factories. If they cannot at the moment do so in person, they should start a movement to spur hundreds and thousands of literary and art workers toward that direction.

During the past several years, some of our comrades have begun to get acquainted with the life of peasants as well as of soldiers, who in fact are no more than armed farmhands. But this is not enough; we should also help other writers to get acquainted with their life. To achieve this end, and to identify our feeling and thought with theirs, is indeed going to be a long process. I hope, however, those writers and artists, who

have had experience in the villages, do not become conceited, for it is their duty to understand the meaning of the war and to know the peasants, who make the great majority of the Chinese people. The long history of China is basically a history of peasants' revolutionary wars, and the present twenty years of conflicts may serve as another example of the peasants' war, which is led, however, by the working class.

When we say literature and art should serve the workers, peasants and soldiers, of course we do not imply that they may deal only with the proletarians in the towns, landtillers in the rural districts and men in uniform. When we write about the situation prior to the Liberation, for instance, we have to deal with the oppression of the bureaucratic capital; when we write about the present-day production, we have to stress the mutual benefit of the workers and capitalists; when we write about the peasants in the feudal villages, we have to expose the outrages of the landlords; when we write about the People's Liberation War, we have to expatiate on the reactionary officers of the Kuomintang troops and the Kuomintang soldiers, who sacrificed their lives for a worthless cause. What I mean is not that we should detach ourselves from the knowledge about other classes. The main point is that we should know clearly where to lay our emphasis. Otherwise we can hardly reflect in our works this great era and its creators, the great labouring people.

The third problem is how to popularise art and literature and how to raise their standards.

Is the popularisation of literary and artistic works still our foremost task? Certainly it is. In the Liberated

Areas some efforts have been made towards this end, though the result fails far short of the standard required. True, our present popular works of literature and art, which have been loved by the broad masses, are still very crude in form and low in standard and in need of improvement. But this should not be too much of a concern to us. It would be a great mistake to neglect the task of popularisation as a result of this. It is indeed a fact that any newborn creature looks crude and childish. We should not be too exacting in our demands; we should cherish it as our own child, criticising and educating, but not whipping and scolding it. Otherwise we shall stun our child and turn it into an idiot. Young creatures are apt to clamour for the betterment of the old world — a fact which is in itself a manifestation of the revolutionary spirit. Though the old art and literature still look attractive in appearance, they are rotten at the core, since they are detached from the people. Our hope lies in the new. We must positively value the accomplishment already achieved in, and pay attention to the growth of, our new literature and art in their process of popularisation, however small this achievement may be.

The fourth problem is how to reform the old literature.

I feel that we have not in the past stressed enough the importance of reforming the old literature. Any form of old literature or art, which has taken root in the masses, deserves our attention to its reformation. Our first and fundamental task in this respect is of course to improve the contents, and then the form, so that eventually we may achieve the harmony and unity of both. We are glad

that many of our accomplished friends of the old literary and art schools are willing to cooperate with the cadres of the new school in this significant task. To them we extend our cordial welcome. The attitude of the old society towards old literature and art is at once appreciative and contemptuous. It was fond of the old art with the old form, but it despised the old artists to the extent of even insulting them. But it is different in our new society of the new era, in which we respect those artists of the old school, who are popular with the masses. With this respect for them we may expect to convert them. In the past, though we have made some efforts towards this goal, the result is not worth mentioning. So in the future we should unite ourselves with our fellow workers of the old school, who are willing to re-educate themselves; and organise and lead them to the gigantic movement of a large-scale and comprehensive reform of old literature and art. Any attempt to eliminate and replace them will prove an impossible affair.

The forces of the old literary and art schools, composed of thousands of artists and influencing millions of playgoers, audience and readers, should be mobilised so that they can actively take part in this reform movement, which has just begun. There are, however, still people, who believe that the old literature and art have no future at all, and will therefore eventually go out of existence. This fallacy gives rise to the contemptuous psychology that nature will take care of them. But the fact is that the vast masses still attend, and enjoy listening to and seeing their performances. Could the literary and art workers, who are responsible to the people, treat this matter indif-

ferently? Under these circumstances will the old literature and art die in due course? My answer is that they may eventually pass away, but at the same time they may have a future. This is to say that the bad elements of the old literature and art, the part which is against the interest of the people and which does not meet the requirement of the people, will certainly, and necessarily, disappear — the part, for instance, that propagates feudal and other anti-revolutionary ideas. But those elements, which are rational and capable of healthy development, will undoubtedly attain to a higher level and become progressive, thereby incorporating themselves as a constituent part into the new literature and art. This part will have a bright future, forever free from the fate of extinction. Only from this point of view can we conceive the correct solution of the problem. We are not in the opinion that everything in the old literature and art is good and should therefore be preserved, with the result that all of us become conservatives striving to restore what is ancient and old. Nor are we of the opinion that everything in the old literature and art is bad and should therefore be discarded — an attitude which totally disregards our national traditions and the sentiment of our people, and which therefore is wrong, in the sense that it is against our primary objective of popularising literature and art, and that it does not fit in with our historical point of view. Just as in the case of the newly created popular literature and art, the newly-reformed works of the old school might also be very crude at the beginning. But we should not hold them in contempt simply because they are crude, for contempt will hamper their growth and fruition. This task

is undoubtedly going to be a tremendous, long-term job. It would be impossible to expect it well accomplished at once.

The fifth point that I want to stress is that all our writers and artists should maintain an outlook national in scope. All our friends present here come from various parts of the country — some, for instance, from the army, in which they have worked for a long time; and some from regional organisations in the Liberated Areas. Owing to the particular circumstances of the past years their work has been regional in character. Now that we gather in this room exchanging views on our activities in the future, it is imperative that we should extend the panorama of our outlook from a region to the whole country. We must not only bear in mind the interests of a certain department or simply our own working conditions, but also think in terms of the task of liberating the whole country, of how to fit in our literary work with this assignment. Then, and only then, can we lay a firm foundation for the future development. As the complete liberation of the country is drawing near, our most important job in the rear today is to step up production. Our writers and artists should understand that the building up of a new, democratic China at the present stage is a difficult process, which involves the urgent demand that every department, every worker and every piece of work be under way for rapid development and at the same time dovetail systematically into the requirements and possibilities of the whole nation. The correct division of labour, however, is determined by the urgency of the work in question.

This great Conference of ours has been indeed a success. But we shall get disappointed in many ways if we take it for granted that everything about it has been perfect or that everything we are going to do is bound to be perfect. Our work, however, can have a rosy prospect for its future development, if we, expanding our view from regional or personal considerations to those of the whole country, fit it in closely with our work of national reconstruction and our political movement. Our army, for instance, is continuing its advance to the South, to the Northwest and to the Southwest; the important direction of the writers and artists' move, therefore, should also be pointing to the new areas, where they can help liberating another 200,000,000 people and promote the popularisation of art and literature. There may be such literary and art workers in the army as demand advanced study in order to improve the quality of their work. There may even be a part of them, who have to be recalled to the rear in order to have further training. But this on the whole is a negligible minority, which may not even exist at the beginning, for at a time as this, individual requirements have to be consistent with the interests of the majority. The same applies to the writers and artists in the old Liberated Areas. They have every possibility to be sent to the newly freed regions, where they shall organise the local literary forces and spread their activities. This is another example of literature and art coordinating with politics.

It is advisable to over-estimate possible difficulties, for if we are ready to work under worse conditions, we shall certainly be more at ease to face better circumstances in the future. What I am really aiming at is

that you should get psychologically prepared for any situation, better or worse, that may arise.

The last problem is that of organisation. All the delegates to this conference have realised that an organisation is necessary. Indeed this problem has to be solved. We have to establish not only an All-China Federation of Writers and Artists, but also departmental societies for literature, drama, motion picture, music, painting, opera and ballet, in the same manner as the various branches of the All-China Federation of Labour. Only in this way can we proceed smoothly with our work, such as training cadres, enlarging the field of activities and promoting our planned reforms. As all of us have no dispute over this point, we must start the work straightway since we shall have no opportunities of holding such a large conference every now and then. I hope that the various societies can be formed either before or shortly after the conclusion of this session.

The People's Political Consultative Conference will give birth to a national democratic coalition government, in which there will be a department in charge of art and literature. This department will have to rely on the support of the various popular societies we have mentioned above, for its chief function is to serve the masses and their organisations. Our country is the people's country, and our government the people's government, which is at once democratic and centralised. It is the kind of political authority in which the process of making a proposal is to start from the rank and file, then the proposal is handed to the top level for examination and revision, and again from the top level it is returned to the people

for discussion and approval before the final decision is reached. It is the people's democratic dictatorship under the leadership of the proletariat. It is hoped that the organisations of writers and artists fully understand this process and elect their own representatives to the People's Political Consultative Conference. The department of art and literature in our new democratic administration requires the active participation of our literary and art workers.

In one of the People's Field Armies there were in the past more than 8,000 literary and art workers. But in many others the number was small. This state of affairs was a natural outcome of the particular circumstances during the war. Various administrative regions have suffered from the same maladjustment. Some county, for instance, has had one literary team to carry on literary activities among the people; some has had absolutely none. This uneven development may continue for some time to come. But it is imperative that this difference between the cities and the rural districts, between the armies and the local communities, should be adjusted step by step. At the moment we need a large number of literary and art workers to go to the newly liberated areas. In the past a lot of our friends fought separately in the Kuomintang Controlled Areas, and were isolated from one another. Their tactics was to break through any loophole under the Kuomintang rule, and, when pressure was brought upon them, go immediately underground. The situation has changed, however. The country now belongs to the people. It is up to the people to arrange programmes and to carry them out. We have, therefore, to arrange our

literary and art activities according to a plan, whether we work in the government or in popular organisations. And this planning is going to be the major task of the guiding organ that you are going to form through the process of democratic representation.

The above points are what I want to say concerning art and literature, hoping that they may be of some interest for your consideration and reference.

Comrades and friends! This congress of writers and artists is such an expression of unity between the two separate literary and art forces: one from the old, and the other from the new, Liberated Areas; one representing the new literati and artists and the other composed of delegates from the old school, who approve of the plan for reform. This congress is also the meeting of three different literary and artist detachments, whose activities have been localised in the villages, cities and armies respectively. All this goes to show what a great and comprehensive and victorious unity we have succeeded in achieving, under the flag of New Democracy and under the new literary direction of Chairman Mao Tse-tung!

With the final, nation-wide victory being in sight, we, over 700 delegates gathering in a great convention, have to be grateful to Chairman Mao Tse-tung. It is under his leadership that the triumph of the Chinese Revolution has attained to such great height. We have to be grateful to him, who gives us new direction in art and literature so that our art and literature can march forward in unprecedented triumph. (*All the delegates rose to their feet. Thunderous applause*).

The Struggle for the Creation of New China's Literature

By Kuo Mo-jo

Fellow delegates!

In compliance with the request of the Preparatory Committee, I am going to talk about the nature of our literary movement and the problems concerning the united front of writers and artists. I also wish to call your attention to the main task facing our literary workers both at present and in the future.

We are wont to employ the phrase, "the new literature since the May Fourth Movement". But in what respect is it new? How does it differ from the old literature? For quite a long time in the past our writers, it seems to me, failed to have a thorough grasp of the question. It received the most scientific answer only after Chairman Mao Tse-tung had published his book *On New Democracy,* in which he defines the character of Chinese Revolution at the present stage as "new

democracy" and that of the new democratic revolution as the "people's anti-imperialistic and anti-feudalistic revolution led by the proletariat." This character of the Chinese revolution, in its turn, determines the character of China's new culture and new literature; in other words, the new culture after the May Fourth Movement is no longer the out-of-date, old-fashioned democratic culture, but the people's anti-imperialistic and anti-feudalistic new democratic culture created under the guidance of the proletariat. Similarly, the new literature after the May Fourth Movement is no longer the out-of-date, old-fashioned democratic literature, but the people's anti-imperialistic and anti-feudalistic new democratic literature created under the guidance of the proletariat.

Since the Opium War, for a century or so, the political, cultural, literary and art movements of the Chinese old democracy have all the time been more or less anti-imperialistic and anti-feudalistic in character. Consequently the basic characteristic of the new democracy as defined by Chairman Mao is the leadership of the proletariat in the "people's anti-imperialistic and anti-feudalistic revolution". Without the leadership of the most revolutionary working class and without the guidance of the most scientific proletarian theory, it would be impossible to find the direction, and to determine the policy, of the revolution; to develop fully the potential strength of the masses; and to achieve the final victory for the noble cause. Just as it is true of our political revolution, so it is also true of our cultural and literary revolution, and the Chinese history of the past 30 years has proved the

truthfulness of this statement. The great victory of the revolution in politics, culture and literature achieved by the Chinese people today is indeed an integral part of the successful leadership of the Chinese Communist Party and the guidance of Mao Tse-tung's principles. This leadership and guidance explain why the revolution has acquired such a thorough and uncompromising quality unprecedented in Chinese history.

The imperialistic and feudal oppression has made possible the participation of the broad masses in the struggle for democracy. How to organise them into a strong united front under the proletarian leadership, therefore, becomes a very important problem of the revolution today. Without a united front and a correct policy it would be impossible to mobilise all the forces of the country for the defeat of the enemy.

The new literary movement during the past three decades has always been a united front movement of writers. Even in its early stage it enjoyed the collaboration of the petty bourgeois and bourgeois intellectuals and those literary men, who had a rudimentary knowledge of communism. During the period between the May Fourth Movement and the Great Revolution of 1927, it destroyed the dominant rule of the old feudalistic and semi-feudalistic literature. Some representative works were produced during these years by writers who believed in communism and by those revolutionary petty bourgeois authors, who gradually accepted the communistic ideology. These works exercised a widespread influence on the intelligentsia and played an important part in the anti-imperialistic and anti-feudalistic activities. After the unsuccessful conclusion of the Great Revolution of 1927 and the betrayal of the right-wing bourgeoisie, the struggle for democracy entered upon a new stage. And there emerged the left-wing movement in literature, which was a literary united front led by the proletarian intellectuals and the revolutionary petty bourgeois intellectuals with the famous author Lu Hsun as its standard-bearer. It waged many heroic battles against the imperialists, the feudal influence and the Kuomintang reactionaries; and it made tremendous contribution to the Chinese Revolution by inducing numerous petty bourgeois intellectuals and students to join the movement and by forging a vast number of revolutionary cadres.

Unfortunately, some literary workers taking part in this movement adopted an erroneous "close-door policy" on the problem of united front. Before and after the outbreak of the Sino-Japanese War, literary groups, under the leadership of the proletariat and with the common object of resisting the Japanese invasion, formed a united front of proletarian, bourgeois and other patriotic writers. Although some of them afterwards deviated from the right track and turned right-wing, yet on the whole, the new literary movement made tremendous progress during the War and contributed much to the successful conclusion of the resistance against invasion and to the growth of the democratic political movement. During the last three years of the War the movement was strengthened with further development and achievement. The writers in the Kuomintang areas, in spite of all sorts of persecution, stuck persistently to their posts, never for a minute losing their fighting spirit. They offered to the public some memorable creative writings, which performed very significant political

function in the struggle against the Kuomintang reactionaries. And under the influence of Mao Tse-tung's instruction on new literature they began to establish close contact with the masses.

In the Liberated Areas the situation, however, was entirely different. After the Yenan Literary Meeting in 1942 writers managed to solve, under the guidance of Chairman Mao, all the problems that had remained unsolved since the May Fourth Movement. A great change began to take place in literary forms and contents. Literature began to integrate itself into the life of the broad masses, of the workers, peasants and soldiers, whose interests it strove to serve — a destination, at which it finally arrived! This very fact is an indication of the accomplishment in literature during the past 30 years.

The past three decades saw the literature of the landlord class disarmed in theory and that of the Kuomintang fascist capitalists denounced by the people and writers throughout the country. But, apart from this, a controversy also took place between two schools of literary workers: One championed the "art for art's sake" for the benefit of the feeble, *laissez-faire* capitalists and the other advocated the "art for people's sake" in the interest of the revolutionary masses. After 30 years of struggle the theory of the former school went completely bankrupt, with the result that the "art for art's sake" writers almost lost all their readers and had afterwards to change their views about life and art and to adopt the literary principles of the working class. The other school that served the interests of the people, however, grew in strength and prestige. Its aim was clear,

and so the support people gave it was also evident and universal. This fact of great historical significance proves that, although the Chinese capitalists attempted to seize the leadership in literature, it was not possible for them to do so simply because they were entirely isolated from the masses. It also proves that if a writer denies the guidance of the proletariat, all his efforts would result in nothing. Chairman Mao Tse-tung says in his book *On New Democracy*, "Before the May Fourth Movement the Chinese new cultural movement, namely the Chinese cultural revolution, was led by the bourgeoisie, which then still had the ability as a guiding force. But after the Movement the bourgeoisie was even more backward in culture than in politics, and it therefore lost its ability as a guiding force, and functioned at most as an ally of the revoluton. Thus the culture of the proletariat comes to play the leading role." Indeed, "This is an indisputable truth that no one can refute."

This important lesson from the history of the Chinese literature during the past 30 years must be borne in mind by all the writers who wish to do something of value and significance. As the great victory of the Chinese revolution has aroused the enthusiasm of those who stood outside the political struggle, a united front of writers and artists to be formed on an unprecedentedly broad basis becomes a possibility. At the Preparatory Meeting of the People's Political Consultative Conference, Chairman Mao Tse-tung said, "The Chinese revolution is the revolution of the masses of the whole nation. All people are our friends except for the imperialists, feudal remnants, bureaucratic capitalists, Kuo-

mintang reactionaries and their stooges. We have now a large and solid revolutionary united front, which is so comprehensive that it embraces the working class, the peasantry, the petty bourgeoisie and the national bourgeoisie." It is the same with the literary united front, which should be organised on the basis as stated by Chairman Mao Tse-tung.

As in politics the literary united front should also comprise various classes, which hold different views on art and literature. Since it is impossible to bring all these viewpoints into unity at the moment we should therefore allow them to exist separately. But after we have reached a political unity, we should try to make a united effort in rendering service to the people through literature. Through mutual criticism and self-criticism and through individual endeavour it is not impossible to attain this goal. As in politics, without criticism it would be difficult to consolidate the literary united front. Mutual criticism is therefore a fine democratic tradition, which our writers should strive to build up. It would be a tyranny if we allowed ourselves to criticise others without allowing others to criticise ourselves — an incorrect attitude which it is to our advantage to abandon at all costs.

Fellow delegates! This magnificent and unprecedented Conference should be regarded as a symbol of the victory of the Chinese people's political revolution, and of the victory of the people's cultural revolution. Through a long period of bitter struggle, armed and otherwise, the Chinese masses, under the correct leadership of the Communist Party, have at last arrived at a

triumphant destination. The remnants of the Kuomintang reactionaries are soon to be entirely wiped out. A new People's Political Consultative Conference is soon to be convened, and a democratic coalition government on a national scale will soon be a reality. The Chinese revolution will then enter upon a new stage with its main task centering on political, economic and cultural reconstruction and national defense. It is at this momentous juncture that we hold this Conference attended by the patriotic democratic literary and art workers from all walks of life. Reviewing the past and looking forward to the future, we cannot fail to consider the task facing our writers and artists, the question of the literary united front and the means by which we can fight together effectively on the same front. And it is at this Conference where these problems should be discussed at length so that we can find their right solutions. In this connection I wish to make a few personal observations and proposals:

1. We should consolidate our unity and fight together with the people for the complete downfall of imperialism, feudalism and bureaucratic capitalism and the establishment of a people's new democratic republic, and we should intensify this fight through our literary weapons.

2. We should go to the people, try to understand them, and live their life. We should write about, and pay tribute to, the labouring masses for their bravery and industry. We should try to create a kind of literature that is rich in ideological content and high in moral quality and that is written in a form familiar to and

loved by the people — so as to develop in full the educational function of literature. We must give special attention to the development of literary activities in the factories, in the villages, and among the soldiers, and to the bringing up of new literary forces in the masses.

3. We should wipe out the remaining force of the old semi-colonial and semi-feudal literature and the influence of the imperialistic bourgeois literature and the Chinese feudal literature that still lingers in the literary world. We should critically accept all the literary heritage, absorb and develop all the good progressive traditions, and, for the purpose of uniting organically patriotism with internationalism, we should draw fully upon the precious experience of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

Fellow delegates! From the very beginning, our new literary movement has been closely knitted together with the political movement, and has, in all its stages ever since the May Fourth Movement, played an important part in the political revolution. In the fight for the victory of new democracy and literary revolution many writers and artists have lost their lives side by side with their heroic fellow countrymen. And during the time of Land Reform quite a number of them suffered persecution and massacre at the hand of the Kuomintang reactionaries, and in the Sino-Japanese War and the People's Liberation War a lot of them fell on the battlefields and breathed their last in gaols and got killed by the secret agents. We should inherit their spirit of self-sacrifice in the struggle against imperialists, feudal elements and bureaucratic capitalists, in the struggle for the establishment of a new China.

Literature being our chosen field, when we take part in the revolution and national reconstruction, we should content ourselves not merely as participants, but also as literary workers. The new literary movement during the past 30 years has no doubt achieved great victory in the sense that it has acquired a notable position in the society, exerted good influence on the broad masses and made valuable contribution to the revolution. But in comparison with the rich, glorious struggle and the inventive genius of the Chinese people, in terms of what they expect from literature and art, its accomplishments seem inadequate. To reflect the struggle and the inventive genius of the people and to satisfy their demands from literature, our writers should go deep into reality and make more effort to study the life of the masses, which is an inexhaustive fountain-head for all creative writing. Indeed, before we can write about the people, we must understand and be well acquainted with them. In order to be their teacher, we must try to be their students first. To go deep into reality, therefore, should become the first step to be taken by the creative writers. But this will not amount to the perfect understanding of reality, as the reality facing us is more complicated than that confronting our predecessors, the Chinese society today being in a stage of violent convulsion. As we should adopt a more serious and responsible attitude towards the reader, the playgoer and the audience, it is imperative that we should intensify our study of the revolutionary theory and policy and the principles on progressive literature. It is only through such efforts can we correctly and profoundly understand reality and bring the ideological quality of our creative works to a higher level. The

artistic quality of our writings, too, should be raised, but this should be done in the right direction and on the basis of popularisation. Apart from that, we should absorb critically from all the Chinese and foreign literary heritage what is suitable for the art of depicting the people and what is easily acceptable to them. But at the same time we must with equal determination cast off what is harmful to them. In short, it would be a mistake to despise and discriminate against our own and world literary legacies, nor would it be right to blindly worship and imitate them.

There is one more fact which deserves our attention. The old semi-colonial and semi-feudal literature and the whole bulk of feudalistic writings still command a large reading public among the less-advanced masses. We should take over this position hitherto occupied by the reactionary literature, with all the effective measures. The reformation of the old literature and the education of the old-type writers and artists as has been carried out in the liberated viliage should also be regarded as an urgent task. As I have pointed out above, the influence of the bourgeois literature of the imperialistic countries still lingers in our new literary world. It is our duty to oust it, through criticism and self-criticism, from our literary movement. The correct direction for the healthy development of our literature is at the moment to encourage and spread out the literary activities among the masses in the factories, villages and armies, our purpose being to unite literature with the people on a popular basis and to make it serve the interests of the people to the most of its ability. We must realise that the main defect of our new literature since

the May Fourth Movement has been the fact that its contact with the masses is not sufficient. Fellow delegates! If external limitations were the chief cause for the defects of our literature in the past, we have now every advantage in our command. What we have to do is to make greater efforts. We must make greater efforts to create a kind of literature and art that are worthy of our great nation. We must make greater efforts to satisfy the demands of our people in art and literature.

Fellow delegates! Our task is a tremendous one. But we have a clear direction to follow and important and precious experiences to draw upon. And the most important lesson from these experiences is that our literary and art workers must try every means to unite themselves with the people. We should make this a voluntary movement. Those writers who have done something in this direction should remember the repeated remarks of Chairman Mao that conceit is the greatest enemy to progress; and those who have not done so, should go with great determination to the masses. I believe that, under the correct leadership and with a modest attitude and through strenuous work and study, the writers and artists of this generation can fulfill this historical mission, and offer to the people works that are healthy and worthy of their authors' names.

Literature in the Kuomintang Controlled Areas

By Mao Tun

I. Introduction

As the Liberation War of the Chinese People is approaching the final victory, and the day for the liberation of whole China is in sight, the so-called "Kuomintang Controlled Areas" will soon become a historical term. For a number of years, though the movement of revolutionary literature has grown freely in the Liberated Areas, it has, in the course of its bitter struggles, suffered endless persecution and destruction in the areas controlled by the Kuomintang reactionaries. I think the moment has come for us to review the achievements of the movement in the Kuomintang Controlled Areas during the past ten years.

Needless to say, the backgrounds of the literary movements in both Areas differ widely from each other. In the Kuomintang Controlled Areas, political power is

in the hands of the reactionaries, who oppress the people and try every means to oust the progressive writers and artists from existence. Mass movement can never gain strength on a large scale, and literary workers do not have ample opportunities of getting in touch with the masses. Under such circumstances, the subjective defects of writers tend to have an easier growth. But in spite of our ideological difficulties and the serious shortcomings in our works, the literary movement in the Kuomintang Controlled Areas has made some significant achievements. So far as the general aim of the struggle is concerned, literary movements in both the Kuomintang Controlled Areas and the Liberated Areas are consistent with each other; and in ideological development, both have endeavoured to follow the same line. With regard to the main current in the revolutionary literary movement in the Kuomintang Controlled Areas, it has been heading in the direction pointed out by Chairman Mao Tse-tung, striving to link up with the people. On the whole, writers under the reactionary rule in spite of the threefold oppression — political, economic and cultural, have been fighting hard against the Japanese and American imperialists and Kuomintang reactionaries. They have stuck to their posts, and actively promoted, or kept pace with, the National Liberation War against Japan, the democratic movement and the People's War of Liberation. The reactionaries have never succeeded in strangling this movement of the new literature.

To explain how this movement has been waging battles in concert with the political development, we may divide the past decade into the following periods:—

The first period, dating from the outbreak of the War of Resistance against Japan up to the fall of Hankow (July 1937 to the end of 1938), covers one and a half years. At the beginning of the War, writers throughout the country were very much excited. They immediately organised many dramatic troupes and propaganda teams to work in the countryside and the army. They wrote numerous short pieces, such as short stories, documentaries, living newspapers, 'street plays', 'reportage plays', 'wall poems' and 'street poems'. These works are not without serious shortcomings in themselves, but no one can deny their propaganda value during the initial stage of the War of Resistance. Besides, through their practical work in the war zones and rural districts and through their contact with the people, many literary workers not only had broadened their outlook and enriched their writing material, but also attempted something new, having realised that their works so far had not met the demands of the masses. During this period, a great number of them left for the Liberated Areas, and at the same time the problem of making use of the old literary forms came under serious discussion.

The second period runs from the fall of Hankow, through the Southern Anhwei Incident at the beginning of 1941, up to about one year before the end of the War. Throughout these long years (1939-1944), the Kuomintang reactionaries adopted a passive attitude towards the War of Resistance, seeking either foreign mediation for a compromise with the Japanese invaders or downright surrender to them and, finally placing their hopes for victory entirely in the 'aid' from American imperialists. In the meantime, they took an increasingly hostile course

against the Communist Party and the people, intensifying the persecution of the progressive literary movement. Under the reactionary censorship, any literary work which touched upon real social problems seldom had the chance of publication or presentation on the stage; and, in the heat of the White Terror, progressive authors were liable to be sent to concentration camps at any moment. Serious political oppression, together with financial difficulties, plunged a part of the writers into the state of depression. On the whole, however, the literary workers did not lose their confidence in the final victory of the War of Resistance. The mighty strength of our soldiers and people, fighting persistently behind the enemy's lines under the leadership of the Communist Party, had always been the motivating force that inspired confidence into all the courageous writers and artists in the Kuomintang Controlled Areas, who, throughout this period, were maintaining and consolidating a broad united front, and unswervingly waging battles against the reactionaries. The production of the play *Ch'u Yuan* shortly after the Southern Anhwei Incident, for example, met with enthusiastic response; so did the publication of the novel *Decay* which revealed how the secret agents serving the reactionary bloc were terrorising the people — both these works produced significant political repercussions at that time.

The third period starts from the Japanese fascist military penetration into Hunan, Kwangsi and the other provinces in the second half of the year 1944, and ends with the approach of victory next summer. The Kuomintang reactionaries now openly carried on dealings with the

enemy and the puppets. While the economic crisis was assuming its grimmer aspect, the political oppression upon the writers became even more horrible. But it was in this very period that the student movement broke out in Chengtu and Kunming, and that the democratic movement in all the Kuomintang Controlled Areas succeeded in defying all measures of oppression and gained momentum. This political force was immediately joined by the literary movement. Many democratic meetings were held in the guise of discussion gatherings or study groups for literature and art. A number of writers and artists threw themselves into the front line of the democratic campaign and directly took part in political activities. As to their works, short and poignant political poems, essays and plays were again flourishing. Cartoon exhibitions, in particular, became the weapons for exposing the darkness under the reactionary rule.

The fourth period runs from the end of the War of Resistance, through the old Political Consultative Conference, up to, and including, the years of the People's Liberation War. During this period, the Japanese invaders had collapsed, and the reactionary Kuomintang clique fell back on the American imperialists, seeking to turn China into their complete colony and the Chinese people into their slaves. In the Kuomintang Controlled Areas, all patriotic democratic movements had the participation of progressive literary workers, and songs and poems they produced became indeed the powerful weapons of the mass movement. In July 1946, the Kuomintang ruling class, with the support of their American masters, ruthlessly launched the nation-wide civil war against the peo-

ple and democracy, promulgating the laws of "Rebellion Suppression", suspending newspapers, banning books and periodicals and persecuting writers. It went so far as to resort to murders, kidnappings and other outrageous measures. But, no matter how strong was the reactionary oppression, the progressive literary and art workers still held out. Here, the cinema art is worthy of special mention. In spite of the thick layers of the Kuomintang blockade, the film artists nevertheless managed to produce fine works, which helped the masses to distinguish between right and wrong, and which aroused their consciousness to the fact that struggle was a prerequisite to their liberation. In the meantime, a group of writers and artists moved to Hong Kong, where working for the common cause against imperialism, feudalism and bureaucratic-capitalism, they exerted an influence, which was not only felt by the overseas Chinese in various places, but also by the masses behind the closed door of the Kuomintang reactionaries.

During those four periods, the "Anti-Enemy Association of All-China Literary and Artistic Circles" (called "The All-China Association of Writers and Artists" after the surrender of Japan) succeeded in establishing and maintaining a great unity of the patriotic writers and artists from all classes, in mobilising and organising them to take part in various activities. Whether in the anti-Japanese propaganda at the beginning of the War of Resistance, or in the democratic struggle against the Kuomintang reactionaries, or in the anti-civil-war, anti-persecution and anti-bogus-constitution movement after the Kuomintang reactionaries had launched the

civil war, it had done excellent work, and held out to the very end.

Thus in reviewing the movement of the progressive literature of the last ten years in the Kuomintang Controlled Areas, we cannot deny that it has overcome the oppression of the reactionaries, defeated all their intrigues in arts and letters, and won the final victory. The fundamental cause for this triumph lies in the fact that the movement has been heading in the same direction as the progressive political movement of the masses. For this very reason, the progressive literary and art movement were endowed with a strength, which the reactionaries could in no way remove; and it exerted a positive influence upon the masses, which the reactionaries could in no way obliterate.

II. Various Tendencies of Original Works

Now let us deal with the works of literature in the past ten years.

We have already pointed out that at the beginning of the War of Resistance, literary productions were in a rather prosperous state, but this only lasted a short while. As the Kuomintang reactionaries became more oppressive, the plight of the writers deteriorated steadily, and literary works met with all sorts of restrictions. Early in the War, though some writers went to the rural districts, yet as they did not endeavour to reform themselves, they failed to unite with the people, and subsequently, they found it was difficult to get in touch with the masses. Since they were separated from the life of the masses, their writings generally lacked vitality. The strict censorship of the reactionaries, too, often compelled

them to lay down their pens, and, being frequently forced to live as exiles, they found it increasingly hard to settle down to creative activities. At the same time, as they could not have a strong and sound organisation under the reactionary rule, and as it was not easy for them to exchange views with one another, they had to grope in the dark as individuals without correct theoretical guidance. With all these handicaps, plus the ideological and technical defects in the authors themselves, the literary works in the Kuomintang Controlled Areas unavoidably manifested a certain degree of confusion and emptiness.

However, this does not mean that literature has not made any achievement during the past ten years under the reactionary domination. As we have said before, poems, dramas, stories, cartoons, songs, and the cinema have carried out their militant functions in the various periods of the past decade. For example, during the years before and after the victory of the war against Japan, there emerged from the swift current of democratic movement a number of new publications in literature, such as Ma Fan-t'o's rustic songs in poetry; *Around the Ancestral Memorial Festival* and *The Picture of Promotion in Officialdom* in drama; and *The Biography of Shrimp Ball* in fiction. All of them either critically analyse the essence of the reactionary rule, or bitterly satirise the Kuomintang bureaucratic bloc, or, through the portrayal of the petty bourgeoisie effectively, arouse the readers' sentiments of dissatisfaction and opposition to the status quo, and their longings to pursue a new existence. Moreover, these works uniformly present a new tendency in style — tearing down the restrictions imposed by the traditional forms since the "May Fourth

Movement", and striving to develop in the direction of national forms and popularisation. Generally speaking, this new trend is what the writers in the Kuomintang Controlled Areas have endeavoured to create. Profited by the reaction of the masses towards the new literary works, and influenced by the writings of the Liberated Areas, they came to realise that, if they could not step out of the narrow sphere built upon the tastes and habits of the petty bourgeois intellectuals, it would be impossible for their productions to go into the masses.

Many readers found it intensely interesting to read a literary work produced in the Kuomintang Controlled Areas, but upon closing the book and trying to chew on its contents, they felt that they had got nothing out of it. There were also works, which enlightened the readers to some extent, but at the same time stealthily conveyed to them individualistic, sentimental ideas. What is the cause of all this? On the whole, the literary productions of the Kuomintang Controlled Areas failed to mirror the chief social conflicts of the period, and this constituted their fundamental defects. Since the writers were, in various degrees, separated from direct revolutionary actions, their works were therefore bound to be empty. When they tried to employ different means to fill up this emptiness, their efforts resulted in a number of variegated tendencies.

Since they were unable to mirror the chief conflicts in the society, some writers could only collect such social phenomena as were only of secondary importance or even had nothing to do with real life. They tried to give minute and vivid descriptions to both characters and events, and endeavoured to present a revolutionary

theme. But, between the lines, they could not help betraying their flimsy sentimental ideas. Other writers, who seemed to have a tendency contrary to the one mentioned above, laid emphasis on the spiritual side of their characters, so as to give their works "force". But, all the same, the characters and their adventures as described by these authors, did not reflect the chief social discord and strife in the Kuomintang Controlled Areas. Furthermore, their presentation of characters and adventures did not entirely conform to the objective truth, and they even freely interpreted and depicted objective reality through their subjectivism. They believed that if they expressed poignantly their subjectivism in their work, they could achieve the effect of positivity in theme.

There were still other writers who filled their works with the thought and sentiment of humanitarianism. They had the sense of justice. They had sympathy. True, they succeeded in partially revealing the grim reality and in presenting some objective truth. But they shied at the chief social conflicts. Their method of conceiving the world was that of experimentalism, and their works as a result betrayed more or less unwholesome ideological content.

The above tendencies, which account for the impoverishment of militant effects could easily be detected in the works of progressive revolutionary writers. Apart from this, there were other still more harmful trends, which were secretly growing inside the progressive literary camp, and which poisoned our fighting morale.

One of them, for example, was manifested in the fact that the author indulged in collecting insignificant scenes

of the metropolitan life according to his individual tastes, and then wove them into stories without a positive theme or even a lucid presentation of contents. Apparently, a work of this nature was written merely to entertain, aiming at pleasing the petty bourgeois and therefore swerving from the fundamental objective of educating the masses with the revolutionary spirit.

Another tendency was that, while describing the War of Resistance against Japan, the writer deliberately avoided the exposition of darkness in the anti-Japanese camp. Instead, love stories were often interwoven into a plot, resulting in a new type of romance — War of Resistance plus sentimental intrigues. Since the writer did not have the solemn attitude of loyalty to truth and of loyalty to the people, his works were bound to be vulgar and depraved.

There was a third tendency. Stifled by the gloomy atmosphere under the reactionary regime, baffled by the financial difficulties in life, and corrupted by the literary thought of the declining capitalism, the writer openly displayed a decadent mentality. To deceive the readers, he pretended to be the master of 'pure literature'.

We must point out that all these harmful leanings were deliberately created in our camp by the enemies of progressive literature. It is indeed a pity to see a good writer overpowered by the trials of hard times and falling into such pernicious traps, even though temporarily. It is therefore our bounden duty to make a bold exposure of such failings so that we might be vigilant and on our guard against such pitfalls.

It is for the sake of convenience that we have made the above general classification of the various deviations.

Actually, some of them were interwoven, interacting or even interfused with one another. For this very reason, and because of the fact that tendencies have in practice their counterparts in theory, it is a very complicated matter to analyse the mutual relations of the literary works in the Kuomintang Controlled Areas for the past ten years. As this indeed requires special research in the future, we can but trace an outline in this brief report.

Why do the literary works in the Kuomintang Controlled Areas fail to mirror the fundamental social conflicts of the time and show various deviations? The reason lies not only in the restrictions imposed by the objective circumstances as mentioned above, but also in the subjective conditions of the writers, which we should not eliminate from our account. Most of the progressive writers and artists in the Kuomintang Controlled Areas are petty bourgeois intellectuals, who were originally isolated from the masses. Their petty bourgeois outlook drew them towards the literary traditions of the Western bourgeoisie, and prevented them from having a comprehensive and penetrating view of the historical reality. During the past decade, a great part of the subject matter in literary writing centered round the life of the petty bourgeois intellectuals, whose shortcomings were often defended, and forgiven when adversely criticised. The subject matter dealing with the lot of the peasantry limited itself to the description of the superficial life and missed the core of the problem. The writers looked upon life as a static existence and formed pictures about it from memory and imagination. They failed to observe the peasants through the reality of struggle. As to the subject matter derived from the life of the working class,

it was scanty, if any, and, more often than not, the hero had only the outward appearance of a worker with the thought and feeling of the petty bourgeois intellectual. It was due to this petty bourgeois outlook that, during the past decade, whenever the political situation deteriorated or turned gloomy, the writers expressed in their works more of a sentiment of depression than of enthusiasm for the struggle.

The reactionary rulers strove to suppress the progressive revolutionary literature on the one hand, and to use literature as a tool to dope and deceive the people on the other. In the works of the so-called authors in the reactionary camp, they either dress up secret agents as heroes and openly laud them, or purposely spread the decadent mentality by cleverly displaying sexual lust. However, their political aim is so clear in the eyes of the public, that they can never counteract the positive influence of the progressive writing upon the majority of readers. But we must at the same time point out that the reactionary literature is not without a market in the cities of the Kuomintang Controlled Areas, as a result of the fact that the bulk of the readers of the progressive revolutionary literary works are still confined to the petty bourgeois intellectuals.

Under the reactionary regime, old novels with strong feudalistic fooling-the-people flavour, and picaresque and superstitious books by scribblers spread their poison among the petty bourgeoisie and even a section of the labouring people. The reactionaries also made use of 'picture books', enlarging on various anti-revolutionary topics with very crude drawings, and put them on cheap

sale to drug the innocent minds of the children. They also turned out some works in new literary form. Outwardly these works do not touch upon the political problems, but the choice of subject matter is in accordance with the criterion of the backward tastes of the petty bourgeoisie. They either present some tragicomic scenes, or spin yarns around one or two minor conflicts in the daily existence of the metropolitan citizens, or give vent to the minor complaints in life of the petty bourgeois while making sure that no fundamental doubts towards the status quo be aroused. These works, accepting the decadent spirit of the declining Western capitalism, reflect the depressive sentiment of a section of the colonial backward intellectuals, and fall in with the pleasure-seeking mentality of the lower middle class. They have not only doped a part of the readers, but succeeded, on various occasions, in infiltrating quietly into the progressive literary world. The harmful tendencies in the progressive camp mentioned above must have been the result of this influence. From now on, to eliminate the unwholesome elements inside the revolutionary literary camp, and to educate the readers, we should continue to guard against such camouflaged reactionary literature which has in the first place been under the sway of the capitalist literature.

III. The Development of Thought and Theory in Literature

During the eight years of the War of Resistance against Japan as well as the post-war three years, the Kuomintang Controlled Areas have made some achievements in the development of thought and theory. A

number of problems have been put forward for discussion and some of them have, to a certain degree, found solutions (these will be dealt with later). Theories on literature in the past decade, however, did manifest a good deal of vagueness and confusion. Owing to the opposition to the leanings towards doctrinarianism, the guidance of scientific literary thought was ignored and petty bourgeois ideas were allowed to run wild. The emphasis laid upon nationalism in the War of Resistance against Japan overshadowed the importance of the class outlook. And, because of the need for a broad union of democratic patriotic writers, we overlooked the fact that in consolidation mutual differentiation and mutual criticism were not only permitted but also necessary. Such inclinations and conditions particularly appeared in the early period of the War of Resistance. They were partially corrected in the later period of the hostilities, especially after *Talks on Literature and Art* given by Chairman Mao Tse-tung in 1942; but not completely overcome. After the end of the War and during the People's Liberation War, problems, which required solutions, have still existed in certain basic arguments about literary principles.

Chairman Mao Tse-tung's *Talks on Literature and Art* published in 1942, should also have been the guiding principle for the literature and art in the Kuomintang Controlled Areas. In his talks he put forward the problem of correct standpoint and attitude in literature and art, the problem of adequate training for writers and artists, and the problem of forming a united front of progressive literary and art workers. All these problems

had also existed in the world of literature in the Kuomintang Controlled Areas. But, generally speaking, writers and artists in these Areas did not have a thorough study of the *Talks*, let alone carrying out the spirit of the *Talks* in actual self-examination and self-criticism. On the pretext that conditions in the Kuomintang Controlled Areas differed from those of the Liberated Areas, some of them glanced over this document and expressed their 'agreement in principle'. Others, taking the advantage of a fraction of the experience gained in the Liberated Areas, attempted a total solution of the ideological and theoretical problems in art and literature. But as they did not make a substantial analysis of the literary movement in the Kuomintang Controlled Areas, they could not really solve any problem.

But thanks to Chairman Mao Tse-tung's *Talks on Literature and Art*, and because of the example set by the literary movement in the Liberated Areas, literature in the Kuomintang Controlled Areas has gradually found the right track to follow in its ideological development.

We may roughly classify into the following three categories the ideological developments of literature in the Kuomintang Controlled Areas.

1. The Problem of Popularisation

Upon the outbreak of the War of Resistance against Japan, the popularisation of literature and art became a problem of common interest, but the chief concern of the people at the time was limited to the problem of form. It was as though the writer's standpoint, outlook and attitude did not constitute any problems at all, once the theme against the Japanese was decided upon. We doubt-

ed the value of 'Westernised' literary and art forms, but did not pay much attention to the question of how to acquire a viewpoint based on the masses. This resulted in the 'national form' controversy in 1940. Some writers simply reduced the problem of popularisation to the adoption of 'old folk form' (described as 'pouring new wine into the old bottle'), thereby completely ignoring all the new literary forms created since the May Fourth Movement. Others, in the name of defending new literary forms, persisted in keeping their narrow petty bourgeois outlook. What they defended was not exactly the 'forms', but the contents hidden under the forms that might suffer damage.

From the above-mentioned arguments, one can see that there were prejudices both in the idea of adopting the old folk forms without any change at all, and in the idea of preserving the new Western forms in their entirety. As a result of this dispute, there appeared diverse trends in the forms of literary creation. During the years after the controversy, there ensued researches in and discussions on the 'dialect' literature as well as folk songs, — an achievement, which on the whole developed the positive result of the debate, and which had beneficent influence upon the activities of literary creation. However, the problem of popularisation is not merely a problem of forms. If we treated it only as a matter of forms, we were bound to take a conservative attitude in favour of the old forms, and could not overcome ideologically the petty bourgeois way of thinking and petty bourgeois forms of literature which constitute the most serious obstacle to popularisation.

2. The Problem of Political Quality and Artistic Quality

In the early period of the War of Resistance against Japan, some bourgeois writers advocated the theory that literature could have 'nothing to do with the War of Resistance,' and this led to the controversy in 1940. Apart from them, all the progressive patriotic writers believed that literature should comply with, and render service to, the War of Resistance, and they firmly regarded this as an unalterable principle. However, as the internal political situation was getting more complicated, mere nationalistic viewpoint was not sufficient to cope with the new reality, nor was the shouting of war slogans enough to make literature truly satisfy the needs of the masses. Hence there appeared fluctuations of thoughts in literature, the strongest manifestation of which was in the problem of political quality and artistic quality. Apparently political quality was not denied in literature. Actually it was out-weighed by artistic quality — such inclination was growing secretly.

In 1945, the evaluation of certain works directly led to controversies on the above problem. Some works had a very strong political quality, but wanted artistic quality. Others had a 'higher' artistic quality, but had nothing to do with current politics. Which was more valuable then, the former or the latter? In fact, this problem involved not only the relative importance of the political quality and the artistic quality, but also the question: by what yardstick is the artistic quality to be measured? If we took the sentiment of the petty bourgeois as an expression for artistic quality, then the problem of uniting political quality with artistic quality could never reach a solution.

Since 1945, this problem has not been brought up again, and therefore there are no more controversies. But, as a matter of fact, even when the victory of the People's Liberation War is in sight, this problem still remains a hard knot in the minds of many literary workers.

Some people think that the trouble with our literary writings is not the absence of political quality. Rather, they have too much of it. What they lack is a high artistic quality, — a shortcoming which accounts for the absence of masterpieces.

Some people argue that the essence of literature lies in its artistic value. It certainly should have some political quality, but this is merely a form of presentation of the art value, and is a changeable 'market value'.

Some think it is a blasphemy to demand direct political effect from art. According to them, art may have political function, but this is of a permanent nature, and definitely inconceivable at the beginning. It is true that a sucessful piece of art, through its presentation of types, has political influence which is everlasting rather than temporary, but this is due to the very fact that it has succeeded in most penetratingly expressing the political quality of reality. Hence a writer, in opposing direct political effect and pursuing long term political value, will in practice fall into abstract humanism and deny the political quality of art altogether.

Others, who disapprove the tendency to decorate creative writing with political implications, hold that to demand political quality from art will result in forcing the writer 'to indulge in fabrications'. — Yes, such tendency does exist: the basic ideological content in such

works is that of the petty bourgeoisie and individualism, and therefore the revolutionary quality in them is but a superficial prevarication of words. But what is the cause of such inclination? There are, of course, literary works which simply aim at insinuation and deception. In many cases, however, the above-said inclination comes from the fact that the writer has not yet undergone a true ideological reform, and has not identified himself with the masses. So to overcome this inclination, we should, in all solemnity, demand political quality from all artists in their works. If we permit ourselves to regard artistry as truth and politics as deception just because the writers have succeeded in presenting nicely the sentiment of the petty bourgeois but failed in making the political aspirations of the masses convincing, we can only lead literature and art to the road of death.

Then there appears an inclination to uncritically 'introduce' and worship the classics of the Western bourgeoisie. To some writers, it seems that such classics contain eternal, highly artistic quality, which is the only thing missing in the Chinese literature. The individualism of Jean Christophe is regarded as the highest achievement of art (of course, this work by Romain Rolland has its great historical value); and Baudelaire as a worthy example for us to follow.

Then there appears the tendency to pursue formalism. If a writer does not start from the reality of life, whatever course he may take, whether it be creation of beautiful imagery, the moulding of fine types, or the enrichment of language, his efforts will result in a fatuous pursuit of formalism.

Against this trend of formalism, there appears the inclination to emphasise the 'force of life' and the 'subjective will' of the writer. Whatever it may be, if it has nothing to do with the current political struggle, it will simply become a meaningless term. Emphasis on such matters only encourages the pursuit of formalism. It cannot but lead to denying the political quality of art and advocating art for art's sake from another angle. This therefore gives rise to the third problem, which we shall deal with in the following.

3. The Problem of 'Subjectivity' i.e. the Problem of Writer's Standpoint, Outlook and Attitude

Around the year 1944, there emerged in Chungking a trend of thought which emphasised 'the force of life'. This was in fact a manifestation of the petty bourgeois, who was overpowered by the everlasting darkness and sufferings in life. Finding the trials of reality unbearable, he expressed depressive and downcast sentiment on the one hand, and the anxiety for progress on the other. Both inclinations appeared in works of literature, but the latter stood out prominently in literary criticism, and afterwards accounted for the emergence of the theory of 'the petty bourgeois revolution'. This theory fiercely attacked the depressive and downcast sentiment, but failed to make any positive contribution to the solution of ideological problems. It merely put forth a unilateral and abstract demand of strengthening "subjectivity".

In recent years, the problem of 'subjectivity' in literature has therefore become the basic problem that fermented in the minds of the writers in the Kuomintang Controlled Areas, and that postulated a quick solution.

The core of the problem is the presumption that a literary worker must not adopt a 'purely objective' attitude towards life. But what is the reason for the various deviations found in literary works? Is it because the writer's attitude is too objective or because he sticks too firmly to the subjective standpoint of the petty bourgeoisie? If the viewpoint, thought and sentiment of the petty bourgeoisie are the basic factors that prevent the writer from uniting himself with the masses, then we should not demand 'more' subjectivity from him for the solution of the problem. This is not the problem of the relative strength of subjectivity, nor is it the problem of the fluctuation of enthusiasm, nor is it the problem of the force of personality. It is the problem of standpoint, the problem of how the writer may abandon the subjective standpoint of the petty bourgeoisie without reserve and identify himself with the people both in thought and in life.

Under the Kuomintang reactionary control, could we put forward to writers the problem of standpoint? Undoubtedly, we could, and ought to. It was possible, under those adverse circumstances, for the progressive writers to study the theories regarding China's social and revolutionary problems and then fixed the orientation for their writings in the spirit of uniting principles with practice. It was also possible, to a certain degree, for them to be in close touch with the prevailing struggle of the masses, from which to derive material for their creative writing. But some people believed that the study of revolutionary theories would result in the tendency to 'fabricate lies,' and that we could have the true presentation of art only

through the development of 'subjectivity'. According to them, a revolutionary writer naturally possesses a revolutionary standpoint. Otherwise, all the efforts to study and reform himself would be in vain. In their opinion, a writer could carry on 'fighting' in whatever station of life he happened to be in. (In view of the fact that the writers are deprived of all freedom under the Kuomintang regime, such argument is not entirely without foundation). But they denied the necessity of his directly participating in the current struggle of the masses. On the one hand, they underlined the shortcomings of the people created by the feudalistic rule, assuming that the struggle against such shortcomings should be the fundamental task of literary workers, while on the other, they unconditionally worshipped the spontaneous, individualistic struggle which they regarded as a manifestation of the healthy, primitive "force of life", ignoring the fact that the spontaneous collective struggle is the motivating power of history. They tried to revolt against the reality by means of the abstract 'force of life' and the individual spontaneous attack. This attitude, in point of fact, is but a petty bourgeois dream floating outside the life of the masses.

Thus the controversy on the 'subjectivity' in literature, when further developed, was bound to resolve itself into the problem of standpoint, outlook and attitude as put forward by Chairman Mao Tse-tung in his *Talks on Literature and Art.*

If the writer cannot abandon the petty bourgeois standpoint both in thought and life and adopt the worker-peasant-soldier's standpoint, then there can be no thorough solution either for the problem of popularisation or for the problem of artistic quality and political quality. And the problem as to whether the writer's subjectivity is strong or weak, healthy or morbid, and how this may affect his work, will also find no solution. From the struggle of the literary workers in thought and theory in the Kuomintang Controlled Areas during the past years, just as from their practice in writing, we can only arrive at the above conclusion, and not otherwise.

IV. Conclusion

What has been said in the preceding passages is a brief general description of the literary movements in the Kuomintang Controlled Areas during the past decade. As we have pointed out, after the complete destruction of the reactionary military forces, 'Kuomintang Controlled Areas' will become a historical term, and the so-called 'literary movements in the Kuomintang Controlled Areas' will naturally go into the history of our literature as an old episode. With the approaching complete liberation of the country, all the literary workers have to be prepared for the new tasks in the People's Democratic New China.

A brand-new people's era, entirely different from the past, has evolved before us. Under the oppression of the reactionary government, we were deprived of the freedom to write and to publish, and could not establish close union with the masses; but from now on, we shall live in a free world and have every opportunity of uniting closely with the people. As literary workers, we are now in command of unlimited rich sources of material provided by the unprecedented great victories of the people's

revolution as well as the great reconstruction work just started in the whole country. The heroes and models among the awakened, fighting and labouring millions will be the chief characters in our works of literature.

But we must be vigilant.

The whole question hinges on whether we can learn or not — to learn from the era and from the people. In the course of transformation from the old era to the new, we should be able to distinguish between the obsolete and the new. For instance, in New China, the relationship between the people and the state, as well as that between the people and the army, is entirely different from that of the China under the Kuomintang regime. Hence literary workers should have a new understanding of the responsibility and significance of their own work as well as of the attitude towards their work. If, as a result of our living long under the Kuomintang reactionary rule, we still preserve our previous outlook formed under the influence of the old social relations, and try to apply it to the present new social relations as well as to our position and functions in the new society as writers, then we are bound to be left behind, or even cast away, by the times.

In the past ten years, under the reactionary Kuomintang regime, we have persisted in carrying on the progressive revolutionary literary and art movements, which, just as we have said before, survived with a lot of accomplishments. But we should certainly not be conceited about this. For notwithstanding our achievements, we have at the same time betrayed many shortcomings; our pride and conceit could easily turn our success into a

serious hindrance to our progress, a stepping-stone to our retrogression. We must take the new social conditions and the new social requirements as our basis to amplify that part of our achievements which are worthy of preservation and further development. Meanwhile we should seriously overcome our shortcomings, so that we may move forward continuously and bear the new responsibilities imposed on us by the new era. We believe that all our friends, who have been the unflinching bearers of the progressive revolutionary literary flag under the reactionary Kuomintang regime, are marching towards the new China with unlimited joy and enthusiasm, and, with the strongest determination and courage, striving for progress and self-reformation, in order to be the most worthy participants in the cultural reconstruction of the People's Democratic New China.

The People's New Literature

By Chou Yang

A Great Beginning

It is not easy to make a brief but comprehensive report on the essentials of the Liberated Area literature in all its stages of development and on our various accomplishments and experiences of the past seven years since Chairman Mao's speech at the Literary Meeting in Yenan in 1942.

This literature is young and full of vitality, and has gained so much experience with the people that we have not yet had the time to make a thorough study of it in order to raise our literary standards.

However, one thing is certain — after the Yenan Literary Meeting, literature and literary workers have undergone a basic change in the Liberated Areas. A truly people's new literature has come into being. The relationship between literature and the masses also changed fundamentally. Literature has now become an effective tool for educating the masses and cadres, and a work which is entirely responsible to the people.

Since the May Fourth Movement in 1919, under the leadership of Lu Hsun, all progressive revolutionary artists have sought means of integrating literature with reality and the masses.

In the Liberated Areas, because of the direct and correct guidance of Comrade Mao Tse-tung, because of the support of the People's Army, and the People's Government, and because of political, economic and cultural reforms of the New Democracy, revolutionary literature and the life of the worker, peasant and soldier masses have truly begun to complement one another. We began to realise the ideals of our literary pioneers. Naturally, we are only in the early stages, but we are making a great beginning.

Mao Tse-tung's speech at the Yenan Literary Meeting has defined the direction of the literature of new China. The writers in the Liberated Areas have comprehended it and determinedly brought about its realisation. Their own experiences have proved its complete accuracy. They believe that, apart from it, any other direction would be erroneous.

Let us examine and explain our statement that the literature of the Liberated Areas is truly the people's new literature in the following various aspects:

New Themes, New Characters, New Language, New Forms

New themes and new characters, like a tide, swept into every form and manner of literary creation. I will give you the general figures on the themes of the 177 works which I collated in the *Collection of People's Literature*. They include musical plays, dramas, fiction, reports, and narrative poetry:

The War of Resistance against Japan, the People's War of Liberation (including all forms of the masses' struggle against the enemy), and the People's Army (the behaviour of the army, the relations between the people and the army) — 101.

The rural struggle in land reform and various other anti-feudal struggles (including rent reduction, liquidation of the landlords, land reform, anti-superstitions, anti-illiteracy, sanitation, freedom of choice in marriage, etc.) — 41.

Industrial and agricultural production — 13

Historical subjects (mostly stories of the period of the Land Revolution in northern Shensi — 7.

Others (like behaviour of cadres, etc.) — 12.

From the above figures, one can see the broad outlines of the Liberated Area literature, and the general scope and individual phases of the Chinese People's struggle for liberation.

National struggle, class struggle and production themes outweigh all others. The masses of workers, farmers and soldiers in literature, just as in society, hold the most important positions. The literature also

describes the intellectuals, who worked as cadres in all types of occupations, mental as well as physical. Themes about intellectuals who did not participate in the people's struggle, but lived only within their own small circle and individualistic world, are obviously worthless, and have no place in literary works of the Liberated Areas.

In the works about the awakening of the intellectuals, written during the period from the May Fourth Movement in 1919 up to the Yenan Literary Meeting in 1942, the ideals of our progressive intellectuals and the activities of the masses still were not associated. Therefore, while the works tell of the intellectuals seeking enlightenment, they are essentially individualistic in nature. Still they are useful as forerunners. Now that the Chinese people, under the leadership of the Communist Party, have fought fiercely for more than 20 years, they have a high standard of political consciousness and a feeling for organisation. At a time when they are devoting themselves to the great task of determining the fate of China, if we, instead of describing them fully in our literature, remain within the same narrow circle to which intellectuals have been accustomed, we not only shall be making a serious departure from the masses, but also shall be turning our back on historical truths and the principles of realism.

The authors in the Liberated Areas strove with all their might to unite with the worker, peasant and soldier masses. They went to the front lines, to rural areas, to the factories. They actually participated in the fighting, in land reform and in the production movement. They suffered many tribulations. What is especially praise-

worthy is that many literary workers directly took part in fighting and were completely one with our warriors. In the front line trenches, they helped to educate and entertain the troops. Some shed their last drop of blood on the battlefield. They deserve our highest respect and eternal remembrance.

The authors in the Liberated Areas studied Marxism-Leninism and the principles of Mao Tse-tung, and participated in the various struggles of the masses. Through practical work they became familiar with, and from actual experience they came to understand, the policies of the Chinese Communist Party, the People's Army and the People's Government. This is the basic reason for the healthy growth of literature in the Liberated Areas.

Naturally, our works are filled with the atmosphere of ardent struggle. We already have some rather successful works which deal with the War of Resistance against Japan, the people's battle for liberation, the People's Army, the struggle for rural reform and the production movement. All the battles of the Chinese People's Liberation Army have received the full support and cooperation of the people in every way. This is because the battles have been fought for the benefit of the masses, which never happened before in the Chinese history. The mass nature of these battles is reflected in many of our works.

Ma Feng and Hsi Jung's *Heroes of Lu Liang Annals,* Chao Shu-li's *The Changes in Li Chia Village,* Yuan Ching and K'ung Ch'ueh's *New Hero and Heroine Annals,* Shao Tzu-nan's *Mine Field* (fiction); Hu Tan-fu's *Broaden Your Outlook* (drama); Ma Chien-ling's *Bloody*

Tears of Vengeance and *Poor Man's Hatred* (new Shensi drama); K'e Chung-p'ing's *The Incomparable Militia* (musical drama); Shansi-Hopei-Shantung-Honan Region Dramatic Troupe's *Wang K'e-ch'ing's Squadron* (musical drama); The Militant Dramatic Group's *Heroine Liu Hu-lan* (musical drama); Hung Lin's *A Quartermaster Company* (fiction); — all record the heroic deeds of the peasants' struggle, armed and otherwise, against the Japanese invaders and the Kuomintang reactionaries.

Liu Pai-yu's *Three Incomparably Brave Soldiers* and *Political Commissar,* Hua Shan's *Heroic October,* Li Wen-p'o's *Blood on the Sleeve,* Han Hsi-liang's *The Flying Squadron of the Yimeng Mountains* (fiction and report); The Militant Dramatic Group's *Heroes of the Chiuku Mountains* (drama) — all of them directly reflect the People's Liberation Army's heroic spirit, and loyalty to the cause of the revolution.

The outstanding work, reflecting the peasants' struggle, — indeed the representative work of Liberated Area literature — is Chao Shu-li's *Treatise on Li Yu-t'sai's Rhymes.* In addition, Wang Li's *Bright Day,* Wang Hsi-chien's *Catastrophe,* Ting Ling's *The Sun Shines on the Sang Kan River,* Li P'o's *The Storm,* Ma Chia's *Ten Days in Chiang Shan Village* (fiction), Li Chih-hu's *Opposition to Landlords' Counter-Struggle* (drama) — all, with definite scope and depth, reflect the rural movement for rent reduction, interest reduction and land reform.

Ho Ching-chih and others' *The White Haired Woman* (musical drama); Yuan Chang-ching's *Scarlet Leaves River* (musical drama) and his long poem *Trap;* Chao Shu-li's *Hsiao Erh-hei Gets Married,* Han Tsu's *Con-*

fusion, K'ung Ch'ueh's *The Story of A Woman's Emancipation,* Hung Lin's *Li Hsiu-lan,* K'ang Cho's *My Two Landlords* (fiction) — all present women, who have suffered extremely severe oppression in a feudal society, as central characters, and show the bitter nature of the rural struggle against feudalism, and at the same time describe the joy and happiness of men and women with their new life after liberation.

Very popular works, which take labour and production as their main theme, are the musical dramas *Brother and Sister Pioneers, Mobilisation,* and Fu To's *Wang Hsiu-luan.* In the field of fiction there are Ou-yang Shan's *Kao Kan-ta,* Liu Ch'ing's *Grain Planting Story,* T'sao Ming's *Prime Moving Power.* The dramas are Chen Ch'i-t'ung's *How an Artillery Shell Is Made,* Lu Mei and others' *Song of the Red Flag.* There is also the motion picture *Bridge.*

In the field of historical subjects, Li Chi's famous long poem *Wang Kuei and Li Hsiang-hsiang,* the musical drama *Chou Tzu-shan,* Kao Lang-t'ing's *Old Mrs. Lei* and other short pieces describe the Land Reform Movement in northern Shensi.

All of the above works tell how the Chinese, in their struggles against all kinds of national and feudal oppression, overcome difficulties, improve themselves and produce heroic and model people. Many of our works describe actual events, — *The Story of A Woman's Emancipation, Li Kuo-jui, Heroine Liu Hu-lan,* etc. This kind of work is characteristic of the people's new era. We are in a period which is full of struggle and action. We have seen with our own eyes all kinds of heroes and

models in the midst of our people. They are great and yet commonplace. They are creating historic miracles with their own sweat and blood. Besides our singing their most ardent praises, what more manifestation can we make to them, the true masters of the history of the world? Even if we merely sketch them, we shall be less severely criticized by history than if we write nothing about them at all. Therefore writing about 'real people' and 'real events' should not be categorically disapproved. Let us say that such writing is one method of artistic creation. As long as we select appropriate subject matter and give it a definite artistic finish, we can produce works which have not only educational but also artistic value. The Soviet Union's *Chapayev* is a very fine example.

Men are not born heroes, but they are made heroes in the forge of battle. In the process of changing history, people also change themselves. The worker, peasant, and soldier masses are not without shortcomings. Often, they unavoidably retain the undesirable ideas and habits left over from the old society. But because of the education and leadership of the Communist Party, and with the help of the criticism of the masses our people are conquering their shortcomings, and overcoming their backward ideas to become new heroic personalities. Much of our literature describes the difficult stage in which, by struggle, the masses improve themselves. Only in struggle, can the painstaking, fine character of the Chinese people reach its peak of development.

In plays which describe women, such as the leading female characters in *The White Haired Woman* and

Scarlet Leaves River, and Che Chü-ying in *The Story of A Woman's Emancipation*, as well as Wang Hsiu-luan and Heroine Liu Hu-lan, in plays after their names, there seems to have been centuries of spiritual progress! In traversing this long distance, they shed blood and countless tears.

Literature which depicts the change in some of our backward soldiers has special educational significance. It describes the remarkable results of the political education carried on in our army for class-consciousness and democratic ideals; and at the same time it serves to encourage such educational efforts to attain even greater achievements. Tu Feng's play *Li Kuo-jui*, Lu Yi's play *United for Achievements*, Pai Hu's musical drama *The Merit of Yang Yung*, Liu Pai-yu's reportage *Three Incomparably Brave Soldiers* — all are successful works from this point of view.

Ma Chien-ling's musical drama *Everyone Is Happy* and many other similar short plays tell of the reform of loafers in the rural regions.

Song of The Red Flag reflects the attitudes of two different kinds of woman workers in their competitions for increasing production and the varying working attitudes of two different kinds of factory office managers. The backward worker, as a result of the patient teaching and regard for her by the progressive manager, corrects her former attitude toward her work, and becomes an ardent participant in production.

The greatest animator of China's new cultural movement, Lu Hsun, bitterly lashed out at our so-called 'national spirit'. This kind of 'national spirit' is actually

a backward spiritual state caused by the sufferings of the people for a long period under feudalism and imperialism. He critically described the passive, gloomy, sad aspects of the Chinese people's character, and looked forward to the birth of a new national spirit.

The Chinese people have gone through thirty years of struggle, and have already begun to strike off the spiritual fetters which imperialism and feudalism imposed upon them, and to further develop the industriousness, the bravery, and all the other fine qualities which the Chinese people possess. The new national spirit is now in the making. Our literature reflects and expedites its growth. We may still criticise our people's shortcomings, but we do so in the warm spirit of "protecting the people" as we are instructed to do by Chairman Mao. We must not exaggerate the shortcomings of the people. Compared with their enormous contributions to the war of liberation and to production, their shortcomings hardly amount to anything. We should be able to see more of the people's new and bright aspects. This is characteristic of our new era of the masses, which is different from all previous eras, and likewise this is characteristic of the people's new literature, which is different from all previous literature.

Because the Liberated Area literature is new in content, there are many corresponding new inventions in form. This was first manifested in the aspect of language. From the May Fourth, progressive revolutionary writers unceasingly raised and discussed the questions of "popularisation" and "nationalisation", but were unable to reach a practical, thorough solution. After the Liter-

ary Meeting in Yenan, because the writers had vigorously joined forces with the worker and peasant masses, studied their language and their budding literature, the problem of "popularisation" and "nationalisation" was consequently approaching solution, or at least found the correct road to solution. A unique feature of the Liberated Area literature is that its language is popular in form. Language is the major element in literary works and is the primary indicator of a national form of literature. Chao Shu-li's special success, on the one hand, is indeed due to his deep understanding of rural life, of rural class relationships, of the complications and delicacy of class struggle, and of the reflections of such relationships and struggle in the actions of the cadres — this gives his works a high standard of ideological value. But on the other hand, his success is also due to his use of language, for his language is truly that of the masses, and has been worked over and polished into such simplicity and naturalness that it does not have a trace of artificiality. In his works, art and thought have a high degree of harmony. Apart from Chao Shu-li, many other writers, especially those who have worked with the masses, have done much constructive work with language.

Another important characteristic of the Liberated Area literature is that it preserves its close ties with the national, and particularly the people's traditional, literature. In fiction, there is *Treatise on Li Yu-t'sai's Rhymes*, in poetry, *Wang Kuei and Li Hsiang-hsiang*, and in drama, *The White-Haired Woman* and *Bloody Tears of Vengeance*. Works which are most popular with the masses are all of this nature.

Why are *The White-Haired Woman* and *Bloody Tears of Vengeance* record-breaking new plays, so widely popular, and why have they such a deep influence? The main reasons are these: During the people's battle against the Japanese, they sharply advanced the theme of class struggle, and gave to this theme a strong, romantic colour. At the same time, they were presented in forms which the masses are familiar with, and can readily accept. *The White-Haired Woman* was the first attempt to create a musical drama on a Yangko foundation. After the Yenan Literary Meeting, our writers did considerable research and constructive work in popular literary forms. Their major achievement was the Yangko form. We have created a people's new Yangko on its old rural basis. Its influence has spread all over China.

The Liberated Area woodcuts, New Year's drawings, children's picture books, etc., all are rich in Chinese style and flavour. We all know the woodcuts of Ku Yuan, Yen Han, Li Chun, and the cartoons of Hua Chun-wu and T'sai Jo-hung. As to music, there have been produced many new songs, widely popular with the masses, which retain the flavour of the folk songs.

We make use of the old forms, but not simply in the way of "putting new wine into old bottles", but rather of "creating new things out of the old". This is entirely in accordance with the normal procedure of developing a national literature. Lu Hsun said, "In adopting old forms, some things must be eliminated. What has been eliminated must be replaced. The result is the appearance of a new form, and that is the change." The first step of Lu Hsun's forecast has already been

realised in the Liberated Areas. Now, no one can say that *Treatise On Li Yu-t'sai's Rhymes* or *Wang Kuei and Li Hsiang-hsiang* or Yangko are old forms. On the contrary, they are the new forms for which we have sought.

Formerly, we considered the forms of the feudal literature as old. This is correct, — but to consider those of the bourgeois literature as new is an error. The latter concept originated from an inclination to blindly worship the West. To put it bluntly — this was a reflection of semi-colonial ideas.

So far as the people's literature is concerned, the forms of feudal and bourgeois literature are all old forms. We do not refuse to make use of them, but they must be revised. We shall revise them from a national, scientific and popular viewpoint so that they can be used to serve the people. This is our basic attitude toward all old forms, including folk forms.

Writers of the Liberated Area literature learned many things from folk forms, and, undoubtedly, will still learn from them in the future. However, this is not the same thing as saying that, apart from folk forms, we do not want any other forms or do not regard the latter as important. No, that is definitely not the case. We completely respect and humbly welcome the fine, useful legacy of all native and foreign traditions, especially the experiences of the Soviet socialist literature and art.

We are continuously revising and expanding the folk forms which we have selected. For instance, the Yangko dance had developed from imitations of the actions of our workers, peasants and soldiers into new

dance forms like "Production Dance" and "Dance of the Advancing Army". And any foreign forms, once used to depict the life and struggles of the Chinese people, and accepted by the masses, will inevitably have gradually changed themselves in time into our own national and people's form of art. Our worker, peasant and soldier masses and cadres have a great ability to accept new things. Kuo Mo-jo's *Chu Yuan,* Mao Tun's *Around the Ancestral Memorial Festival* and *Decay* and other non-liberated areas' fine works with a message, have a great many readers in the Liberated Areas and are of educational value to them.

By reflecting the struggles of the worker, peasant and soldier masses, and by adopting the forms to which they are accustomed, the Liberated Area literature is of the greatest use in rallying and educating the masses and cadres. Peasants and soldiers who see *The White-Haired Woman, Bloody Tears of Vengeance* and *Liu Hu-lan* are aroused to a class hatred of the enemy, and burn like a flame for revenge. They angrily shout, "Revenge Hsi Erh!" "Revenge Wang Jen-hou!" "Revenge Liu Hu-lan!" Some troops organised a "Liu-Hu-lan Vengeance Group".

The relationship between literature and the people, and that between literature and politics, have achieved such a degree of intimacy that the writers in the Liberated Areas now thoroughly take into full consideration requests and reactions of their audiences and readers. They serve the people whole-heartedly, and consider this service an honour and a pleasant responsibility.

The Literary Movement of the Worker, Peasant and Soldier Masses

Apart from the creative activities of the professional writers, there are amateur literary activities among the workers, peasants and soldiers in the Liberated Areas. The people in the Liberated Areas, thanks to political and economic reforms, have been able to begin cultural reforms. The worker, peasant and soldier masses who have participated in literary activities show an astonishing creative power.

In the People's Liberation Army, continuing to avail itself of the fine traditions of the 'Red Army period', literature has become a powerful, political weapon. The soldiers organised their recreation centres, held propaganda rallies, published wall newspapers, frontline leaflets and battlefield periodicals and produced shows in the trenches — all these reflect their own life and struggles, whether in the training of recruits, in the reorganising of old troops, or in their marching and fighting. Such creative activities have become widespread mass movements among them. Let us take a few examples at random:

During the battle west of Chinchou in the Northeast, of the "rifle poems", front line propaganda leaflets, recitations, etc., written by the soldiers of a column of the Fourth Field Army, seventy-one selections were printed in 25,000 copies. The soldiers grabbed them up and read them. Moreover, they discussed the contents, and when circumstances permitted, competed among themselves to create still more recitations, poems and songs which were education in nature and stimulated fighting spirit.

Members of the Second Field Army at the battle of Huaihai wrote many rifle poems and battlefield propaganda leaflets. What they chose to publish amounts to twenty-nine pieces — nearly 20,000 words. Their poems and leaflets usually were illustrated, and the leaflets became the soldiers' most cherished possessions. A soldier in the 28th Regiment, on seeing the picture of a hero, exclaimed, "I want to earn a place in the pictorial". Another soldier was struck on the battlefield by an enemy incendiary bomb. Recalling a similar situation in one of the pictorials, he promptly rolled on the ground and extinguished the fire. "The little pictorial saved my life", he said.

Among the "rifle poems" written by the soldiers there are many excellent pieces, like *Defeat the KMT New First Army:*

In felling a tree, one must pull up the roots,
In fighting, we must defeat the KMT New First Army.
Soldier for soldier,
General for general,
Who says a good emancipated man
Can't beat slave soldiers?
Smash the New First Army,
Yank out Tu Yu-ming's teeth.
Three failures made Chou Yu die,
Three failures will make Tu Yu-ming cry.
White heated iron is forged into steel,
Battle tested troops no enemy can repel.
Destroy the 'capital' of Chiang Kai-shek,
And our military might they never will check.

What a heroic spirit, how full of faith! How can such an army help being victorious?

Here are two other selections:

"Eighty-two" cannon, though you're not very young,
Your prestige is not very high.
Another chance for attack has come
Don't lag behind again this time, try!

— *Don't Lag Behind Again.*

My "Seventy-nine" rifle
Is polished gleaming bright,
In this counter-attack
I'm out to get old chap Chiang.

— *My "Seventy-Nine" Rifle.*

We have heard that the entire battery which manned the cannon referred to in the first poem, including the author who was a member of the battery, by careful and painstaking practice, improved the effectiveness of their weapon.

The author of the second poem actually shouted it out on the battlefield, and valiantly rushed at the enemy. Thus, there was an intimate relationship between art and battle.

The dramatic movement in the army, for the most part, has adopted the form of small troupe's performances, which produces great effects. Soldiers act the part of soldiers, companies dramatise life of their own company, and when the play is over, they use the contents of the play for self-examination. "Just as you look at your face in the mirror and wash it if it is dirty, so when examining your ideas, if you find them faulty, you should immediately acknowledge your faults before the company," to quote from a member of a company in the Northeast. And so, by expanding the literary movement in the com-

panies, and with the help and guidance of the literary teams and propaganda sections, as the People's Liberation Army covers ever wider areas, the rich creative spirit of the soldiers is manifested and many fine works and authors have appeared.

The literary movement in the rural areas has an even vaster scope and influence. In the old Liberated Areas, rural dramatic troupes are of seasonal nature. New Year's holiday is the time of their literary festival. They do their own editing and their own acting. They write mostly about their own villages, and closely relate their plays to the current major problems. They are the leading characters in their own works. Although most of these works use the old folk forms as a basis, they have more or less been revised into the many new forms of popular literature. These plays, actually produced by the peasants themselves, are numerous, but only a small portion have been published. A great many of them have even never been reduced to writing. For advancing the rural struggle and stimulating rural production, for education and self-reform of the peasants, these works have fulfilled an immediate, direct and beneficial function. The peasants call the new Yangko "Struggle Yangko". During the Land Reform Movement, many plays were called "Emancipation Dramas". This certainly is an accurate appellation! Yangko plays and dances have become an indispensable part of the life of the masses. Naturally it is not only in plays, but also in other literary forms, that the peasants demonstrate their great creative ability. Particularly during the Land Reform, the peasants created innumerable poems and plays of emancipation, which include quite a number of folk art gems, like:

Chi Chen Taoist Temple
Is a fine place
Fir and pine trees grow in the stone court yard.
Rip up the stone flagging and look,
They are growing on the backs of the poor.

— *Rip Up The Stone Flagging And Look.*

This poem is so full of meaning and strength!

Within the door of the landlord,
A great pot of rich soup
When stirred with a spoon
Has waves to knock you dead.
His corn muffins sprout wings,
His wheat cakes creak,
He hasn't the need to clean up his bowls,
His chopsticks are sticky to the lips.
Yet he refuses to lend you money,
And huffs words to bowl you over,
How can one get along in these times!

— *Within the Door of the Landlord.*

To live like a man, don't borrow at compound interest:
You borrow for one year,
It takes ten years to pay back.
"Shall I repay the few dollars besides the round figure owed?"
I asked him when making full settlement.
"Don't bother, don't bother", he says.
After a couple of years he changes his mind,
And comes after you for another twenty or thirty thousands!

— *Compound Interest.*

What a biting satire on landlord usurers!

We have not only discovered and compiled the poems and plays of the peasants, but have also discovered and encouraged folk authors. As for minstrels, Shensi-Kansu-Ninghsia Border Region has its Han Ch'i-ch'un, North China has its Wan Tsun-san, both masters of the ballad.

In all liberated regions, a great deal of work has been done to improve folk art and folk artists. For instance, in the Hopei-Shantung-Honan Border Region of North China, we have trained over 710 artists, organised all kinds of research groups, and produced, in the past two years to date, sixty to seventy kinds of lyrics, plays, New Year's drawings, etc.

Because previously we did not control the big cities, the workers' spare time literary movement has only just begun, but it has already acquired definite standards. Now, workers' Yangko troupes exist in every city, factory, railroad station and mine. Half a year after the liberation of Tientsin, it already has about forty cultural recreation centres in the factories. Most of the factories have wall newspapers. Not a few workers collect the news in their own factories, and many illustrate their newspapers. According to statistics, about 5,000 workers directly participate in literary activities. Workers are already revealing their creative abilities. Because the workers' cultural level is relatively high, and because their political consciousness increases comparatively fast, the expansion of the workers literary activities will be rapid in the future.

The participation of the worker, peasant, and soldier masses in literary activities has given new blood to the Liberated Area literature. The literary activities of the professional writers and the amateur literary activities of the worker, peasant and soldier masses are integral parts of the Liberated Area literature. The potential revolutionary vigour of the worker, peasant and soldier masses, once given a chance to manifest itself, is indeed inexhaustible and unlimited. Similarly, in creative writing, they have shown limitless vigour and ability. To

call forth the active nature of the masses is the most important requirement of popularising literature and art with the masses. Professional writers, on the one hand, direct the creative abilities of the masses, and on the other, absorb nourishment from their works to enrich their own writings. It is an error to adopt a scornful or indifferent attitude towards the creations of the masses. That kind of attitude was corrected after the Yenan Literary Meeting. At the same time, while leading literary activities of the masses, the professional writers must keep in mind that these activities are amateur in nature and should not interfere with production. The purpose of our literature is to serve our politics. Practically speaking, it is to help expedite success in battle and in production.

Thus, we must observe the seasonal nature of rural life and not exaggeratedly stress "routine". In the factories, we should keep in mind the collective and disciplined nature of production, and, in the army, the environment and characteristics of battle. Some dramatic groups in the rural and industrial areas hold the principle that "acting must not delay production" as their first regulation. This is correct. In the field of literary activities, small vehicles should be selected, and the tendency to present long plays should be prevented. It must be remembered that educating the worker, peasant and soldier masses, and raising their political consciousness and enthusiasm for production and battle, are the most important factors in expanding the literature of the masses. It is not a case of literature of the masses for its own sake. Literature which divorces itself from present political functions, and from the need of the masses, will not be popular and cannot be developed.

Revision of the Old-form Drama

To develop the people's new literature, it is necessary to eliminate not only the old literature which has taken upon itself the task of serving the cause of imperialism, feudalism and bureaucratic-capitalism, but also its possible influence upon the new literary works. We must take appropriate steps to revise the feudal literature still circulating among the people. After the Yenan Literary Meeting, "foreign doctrinaire" literature began to lose ground rapidly, but the old-form drama, which is the main pillar of feudal literature, in spite of its undergoing frequent vigorous revisions, still commands a huge audience. The old-form drama is an important legacy of Chinese national art, which is closely linked with the masses, and which is familiar to and loved by them. At the same time, the old-form drama is a tool used by the old reactionary ruling class to deceive and drug the masses. Therefore, the revision of the old-form drama is an extremely important duty, and involves a very complicated struggle of ideas. We have adopted the method of correcting the old-form drama, step by step, from ideology to form. On the one hand we oppose using the old-form drama simply as a means of recreation, or uncritically lauding the old-form drama, or indiscriminately worshipping its technique, under the slogan, "Master the old technique", which actually opposes the reform of the old-form drama. On the other hand, we do not advocate banning it through administrative channels. That the masses like the old-form drama is a question of thought, and any question concerning the thought of the masses can never be solved by issuing administrative orders. We should realise that as the political consciousness of the masses increases, the

liking for the old-form drama will diminish. The starting point of revision must be practicality. With regard to the text of the old plays, we should judge them from the standpoint of whether or not they are of benefit to the people. Plays which are harmful to the people must be discouraged. We should expose their reactionary contents to the masses so that the theatrical troupes will voluntarily refuse to perform them, and the masses will voluntarily refuse to see them. If plays are beneficial to the people by manifesting opposition to feudal oppression, opposition to corrupt officialdom, and by praising national integrity, praising public spirit, etc., they should be encouraged. Old-form drama popularises the history of the Chinese nation, but it is a history filtered through the consciousness of the feudal ruling class — a warped, perverted history. Our duty is to restore the original appearance of history, and use the concepts of historical materialism to create new historical drama, so that the old-form drama will give to the masses a new and scientific illumination upon their inaccurate and jumbled view of history. During the past few years, we have created *Forced to Liang Mountain*, *Three Attacks on Chu Chia Village* and other plays. Their chief value is that they indicate the new direction in which Peking Opera is developing as a new historical drama.

Of course, besides the Peking Opera, all old-form dramas, the so-called local operas flourishing in particular districts, after revision, can also depict the new life and should be made to develop in this direction. The new Shensi Opera, the new Shao-hsing Opera, and the new P'engp'eng Opera all have demonstrated this possibility and all have made marked progress.

If we are to revise the old-form drama, we must organise and reform the old-style artists. Under the people's new government, the position of the old-style artists in society is much higher than previously. Most of them are willing to reform themselves, and adopt new concepts and methods to raise themselves ideologically and artistically. Under the literary ideological leadership of Mao Tse-tung, the new and the old-style artists not only are forming a united front, but also are gradually eliminating the boundary line between the new and the old.

The Raising of the Ideological and Artistic Quality of Literary Works

Above, I have stated the broad outlines of the Liberated Area literature since the Yenan Literary Meeting. Our work with the Liberated Area literature has accomplished something. But should we, because of this, be self-satisfied? We haven't the slightest reason to be so. Our literary works are far behind the social and political development brought about by the revolution. On the literary front, the achievement is far below that attained on the military front.

Now that the revolution is fundamentally victorious, China is entering a new historic period of vast economic, political, and cultural reconstruction. Our writers must continue to unite with the masses, integrate with reality, and actively participate in the people's struggle for liberation and in every sphere of the new democratic reconstruction. They should further and better reflect this struggle and

reconstruction by means of various forms of art. This stage of national reconstruction is essentially one of converting an agricultural nation into an industrial nation. Formerly, because our work was concentrated on the rural areas, the great majority of our works reflected rural struggle and production. Works depicting industrial production and the working class were extremely few. At present, we only have a few comparatively good works like *Prime Moving Power* and *Song of the Red Flag*. The working class, the peasant class and the intellectuals are the leading forces of the People's Democratic Dictatorship. Our works should emphatically describe these three forces. The intellectuals in the Liberated Areas, after going through the process of self-education and the tempering in the forge of many years' practical work, ideologically, emotionally and stylistically have changed their literary approach and method. They are already quite in the spirit of the peasant and the worker, and this new appearance of theirs should be reflected in the creative writings. Naturally, literature may describe all classes and the activities of all sorts of people — for it is only through depicting definite relationships existing between the worker, peasant, and soldier masses on the one hand and all other classes on the other, that the life and struggle of the former can be completely presented. Yet stress must be unquestionably placed on the workers, peasants and soldiers themselves, because they are the soul of our war for liberation and national reconstruction.

The themes of agricultural production, and of industrial production and reconstruction, will assume a significance. But reconstruction will definitely not be able to proceed peacefully. The very nature of reconstruction

is struggle. Although the armed enemy has been defeated, hidden enemies are constantly scheming to destroy us, especially to destroy our industrial reconstruction. We must increase our vigilance. On the other hand, although the working class and the capitalist class have the same general goals of "Foster private and public enterprises, seek mutual benefit to workers and capitalists, expand production, work for a prosperous economy", still it is undeniable that they have irreconcilable contradictions between themselves. Literary works must expose all important conflicts, and describe all important struggles in our social life.

The revolutionary war will soon be over. Is there any more necessity for writing about the People's War of Liberation, or even the War of Resistance against Japan? Yes, the steps of Time move too quickly. He is already ahead of us and we must catch up with him. There are potential writers at the fighting fronts, qualified to record the events of this great war, but until now, perhaps they have not had the time to write. Well, that time has now come. The Chinese people are urgently looking forward to the works describing this great war. They must not only tell of the courage of the leaders in battle, they must write of their wisdom, of their strategical ideas, and of the process through which Chairman Mao's military ideas have been thoroughly put into practice by the People's Army. This will be a record in art of the greatest value in the history of the Chinese people's struggle for liberation.

Our works possess ideological content, because they reflect the struggle, thought, will and mood of the people.

But their ideological quality is still insufficient and must be enriched. All progressive writers must, as Hegel said, stand on the ideological level of their times. Today, this means to stand on the level of Marxism-Leninism and the principles of Mao Tse-tung. Only in this way can we attain the ability to independently observe, analyse and synthetise all the forms of living phenomena, and to have the comprehensiveness in art.

Only in this way, shall we be able to penetratingly reflect life in all its aspects, clearly and determinedly propagate policy, and unite the two together. Thus we shall not distort the basic facts of life for the sake of a certain policy at a certain time, nor shall we obscure the basic ideals in policy for the sake of partial and minute "realism" in life. Only in this way shall we be able to represent our positive characters with still greater force, and represent the heroes and models of the masses. Only in this way can we overcome our former shortcomings of describing negative, passive characters better than positive, active characters. Only in this way can we reflect not merely the conditions and problems of the masses, but also those of leadership. We very much want works such as the Soviet *Front Line*, which reflect and criticise the ideology and attitude of leadership. To write about this kind of material requires a high ideological standard in the authors, and a familiarity with the attitudes, thoughts and characters of all kinds of leaders and cadres, including high ranking cadres. After the Yenan Literary Meeting, as a result of the writers' deeply entering into the life of the worker and peasant masses, they began to learn how to describe them. This is a

great harvest. Now we must learn how to describe the worker, peasant and soldier cadres, particularly cadres in the positions of leadership. All questions should be examined from the point of view of both the masses and the leadership. We can thus widen our viewpoint, and consequently raise the ideological level of our works still higher.

In order to create works of rich ideological nature, the writers must first study politics, Marxism-Leninism, the principles of Mao Tse-tung, and the present basic policy. They cannot accurately portray the life and struggle of the people unless they understand politics. Policy is something which determines the treatment of classes according to their different positions during a particular period in history, which adjusts itself to the needs of the people, and which directs their activities. The state of each individual is determined by the position of the class to which he belongs and by the basic policy regarding the treatment of that class. It is influenced by how policy is implemented and how good each policy is in itself. In the new society of the People's Democratic Dictatorship, the people are the masters of their own destiny. Their actions are conscious, organised and aimed at a definite goal. Their actions are directed by policy, and they control their own destiny by means of policies which are determined by the Communist Party and the People's Government, according to what is beneficial to them. It is in this basic principle that the new era of the people differs from all previous eras. So, if we depart from this concept of policy, we shall not be able to understand the basic principles that in this new era are to govern our people's livelihood. Only by a correct concep-

tion of policy can a writer, in describing the mutual relationships between individuals, their ideological activities and their destinies, reflect completely the relations and struggles among the social classes as well as the life, conduct, ideological activities, and the destiny of each class. The high ideological quality of a work is chiefly manifested by its penetrating portrayal of the struggles and mutual relationships of the various social classes. Only writers with correct concepts of policy can avoid distorting life consciously or unconsciously by selecting from life mere fragments of casual, emotional, impressionistic, or individualistic nature. "Personal impression or preference instead of policy" is harmful to creative writing.

Naturally, the propagating of policy through literary works must stem from reality and not merely from the wording of the policy in question. Literature must clearly portray the various circumstances in which the leaders and cadres carry out the policies, the divers reactions of each class to the policies, and must describe the entire process through which our party policy and government policy are being accepted by the masses as their own. Only in this way can literature truly reflect conditions and reveal problems. Therefore, authors, when striving to understand such policy, should take it as the basis as well as the method and concept in their observation and interpretation of life. They must at the same time penetrate deeply into life, into the masses, and practically examine and personally experience the conditions under which such policy is effectuated. Otherwise, not only will they be unable to produce true artistic creations, but also they will not have a true understanding of policy.

Furthermore, authors must study the basic theories of Marxism-Leninism, the general line of the Chinese revolution, and the general policy. Only in this way, can they knit together their contemplations and understanding of different practical policies at particular times and in particular places, and at the time of propagation of any particular practical policy, not fall into error, or harm or lower the ideological quality of their works.

The artistic level of our works must also be raised. It must be admitted that the works of the Liberated Areas are still far from being completely up to standard in form. We must study technique, but we must completely oppose technique-above-all-ism (separating technique from ideology, blindly worshipping western technique, etc.) and formalism. We must firmly uphold the new aesthetic standards of the people's literature. All forms which are "fresh, vigorous, and possess the Chinese style and flavour which the ordinary people love to hear and are happy to see" are beautiful. Any other contrary forms are ugly.

The most important duty before all authors today is to create ideological, beautiful works worthy of this people's great revolutionary epoch.

Popularisation Still Foremost, Countryside Not to Be Neglected

Today, is our most important aim to raise the standard or is it to popularise our literature? This question must be answered clearly. Speaking of the literary movement as a whole, we must say that at present popularisation is still a primary task. This is not

only because the nation-wide victory and the expansion of the newly liberated areas require that we first do popularising work for the masses of those regions, (for instance, we must energetically push forward our literary work in the factories) but because the foundation of our popularisation work in the old Liberated Areas is not firm enough and its scope is not sufficiently wide.

Now the emphasis of all our work has been transferred from the countryside to the cities. If once in the cities we forget the countryside, then whatever foundation we originally built will disintegrate. In these past two years, the prevalence of old-form dramas (most of which are antiquated in content) in the countryside, is enough of a threat to arouse our vigilance. Long ago, in his book *On New Democracy*, Chairman Mao stated, "Culture for the masses means elevating the peasants' culture". In the recently published *On the New People's Democratic Dictatorship*, he further stated: "The important problem is to educate the peasants." Therefore we must utilise all the advantageous conditions offered by modern cities and by modern communications, and use all kinds of methods to continue implementing our popularisation work with the peasants.

We must continue to thoroughly expand the rural dramatic groups and other literary activities. The rural dramatic movement in the old Liberated Areas has a relatively good foundation. The original rural dramatic troupes should be reinforced and improved. The apprentice groups of the old drama need reform. We must also organise and improve the story recitations, organise and activate the peasants' creations, and give them

enough usable plays and lyrics. The urban dramatic groups should maintain constant liaison with the rural dramatic troupes and help them by bringing up model literary workers, by giving exemplary performances, by continually training them in rotation at fixed intervals, etc. The urban troupes should consider the helping and leading of the rural dramatic troupes one of their most important responsibilities. Apart from the artistic activities in the rural regions, we should spread all the new forms of art including motion pictures in the rural areas.

In the cities, we must expand literary activities in the factories. When we came into the cities, we introduced to the workers the new Yangko, which was developed from the basis of the peasants' art form, and which showed the workers how the peasants were exploited by the landlords in the past, how they rose up and advanced their struggle, and what a great contribution they made to the War of Resistance against Japan and to the People's War of Liberation. This made the working class acknowledge the importance of their eternal ally, the peasants. We still should tell the workers that the cities must use every means to assist the peasants: not only give them daily necessities but also give them spiritual food. Our cadres working in the country must naturally tell the peasants how the working class is giving everything to restore and expand industrial production, how we are relying on the working class to convert China from an agricultural country to an industrial one, and why the working class is the leading class of the people's revolution. We must use facts to prove to the peasants that the cities are helping them and are working out plans to satisfy their material and spiritual needs. Only

in this way can we expedite and strengthen the alliance between workers and peasants, so that the city and the countryside will not only cooperate economically, but culturally as well, and that there will be a mutual flow between them. Furthermore, by means of establishing rural cooperative societies and other methods, we must continue to help the peasants' cultural regeneration so as to destroy the last stronghold of feudal culture. This, then, is the cultural revolution of new democracy and the final goal of the literary revolution.

All authors, including the professional writers, must constantly watch and study the literary activities of the worker, peasant, and soldier masses, and consider the directing of popularisation as the irrevocable, common duty of all literary workers. This directional work must be planned, systematic, and be performed with all our strength. Only in this way can we fulfill the requirement of popularisation and attain the aim of raising the standard.

Planned, Step-by-Step Revision of the Old-form Drama and All Feudal Literature.

The old-form drama, including Peking Opera and other local drama, still has an enormous influence not only in the newly liberated cities, but also in the old liberated rural areas. This is a fact which cannot be ignored when we are performing the task of popularisation. All feudal arts, from the old-form drama to children's picture books, must be revised. The experiences in Peking and Tientsin prove that the masses welcome

the Peking Opera and local plays, which are new in content, and that the old drama players are willing and in fact are in the process of rehearsing and performing new programs. The present problem is that there are not enough new plays. Therefore, the revision of the old drama hinges on the adequate supply of them. For this purpose, we must organise the numerous old-form drama artists and the new literary and dramatic workers to create or revise play scripts. The people's government and the literary directing organisation will guide them and give them the necessary assistance.

An impetuous attitude should be avoided on the one hand in revising the old-form drama. And on the other, we must oppose those erroneous conservative concepts which stress the 'uniqueness' of the art of the old-form drama (particularly Peking Opera) or the difficulty of mastering its technique — thus depriving ourselves of the courage to break through the old forms.

The work of revising the old-form dramas by mobilising and cooperating with the old-form drama artists will definitely bear new fruit, if done according to Mao Tse-tung's literary principles.

The Establishment of Scientific Literary Criticism, and the Strengthening of Practical Leadership in Literary Activities.

"We want criticism," has become everyone's cry. At present we are lacking in practical, ideological criticism. Literary criticism is all too rare. Because the reading public lacks guidance of criticism, its selection of readings is haphazard. Many young authors, because they are

not helped by criticism, grope their way in writing, and sometimes go in unnecessary roundabout alleys. The organisations of literati, owing to the insufficiency of criticism, sometimes are without literary principles. We must advance the needed ideological struggle all along the wide literary front. We should constantly point out what we must praise and what we must disapprove in literature. Criticism must consist of the practical application of the literary principles of Mao Tse-tung, and must manifest the thought of the worker, peasant, and soldier masses and their cadres collectively. It must encourage self-criticism among the literary workers, and must raise the ideological and artistic quality of our works. Criticism is an important means of realising ideological leadership for literary works.

In order to expedite effectively the growth of the Liberated Area literature, apart from ideological guidance, we still need strengthening the organisational leadership. Appropriate solutions for the many practical difficulties and problems which the authors encounter in their work must be found. After this Conference we shall set up an All-China Federation of Writers and Artists. This will be a weighty force in consolidating the strength of all kinds of writers throughout China in the new Chinese literature. I believe that after this Conference, the Chinese people's literature will have a still greater expansion and will shine gloriously in the history of the literature of China.

EXPLANATORY NOTES

Agrarian Reforms or Agrarian Revolution — It refers to the process in which the landlords' land is confiscated and distributed among the poor peasants or employees on the farm, with a proper share alloted to the landlord himself. The significance of the agrarian reform is to wipe out the feudal economic system. It is one of the main programs of the new democratic revolution.

The Grievance Telling Movement — When the poor peasants wage their struggle against the landlords, they hold mass meetings to tell their personal experiences of suffering under the landlords' exploitation and oppression, thereby enhancing their class-hatred of the feudal rulers. This movement has spread all over the countryside. Soldiers captured by and newly incorporated into the People's Liberation Army also develop a grievance-telling movement to expose the reactionary nature of the Kuomintang troops and the ill-treatment suffered by the rank and file. This greatly awakens the class-consciousness of the new soldiers.

Living Newspaper — It usually refers to the kind of play or opera which reports political news or social

events. It is a news item presented in dramatic form rather than in writing, and proved very popular in the 'Red Army Period' and in the early stage of the war against Japan.

The May Fourth Movement — On May 4, 1919, the students in Peking staged an unprecedented demonstration against the government which was ready to yield to the unjustifiable Japanese demand at the Paris Peace Conference for privileges in China formerly enjoyed by Germany. The movement at once spread all over the country and proved so powerful that the government had to instruct its delegation in Paris not to sign any new unequal treaty with Japan. This first political mass movement against imperialism and its feudal stooges in the history of modern China subsequently developed into an epoch making cultural revolution.

The Old Liberated Areas — They refer to the areas liberated before 1949, including the Shensi-Kansu-Ninghsia Border Region, the Shansi-Suiyuan Border Region, the Shansi-Hopei-Shantung-Honan Border Region, the Shansi-Chahar-Hopei Border Region, and the liberated area in East China.

The Old-Style Drama or Old Drama — It refers to the Peking Opera and the traditional operas of various provinces, and is distinguished from the modern plays and the new-style operas.

The Red Army Period — After the failure of the Great Revolution in 1927, peasant uprisings broke out in various provinces, the first one being started by Comrade Mao Tse-tung. The troops led by Comrade Mao

were then incorporated into those led by Comrade Chu Teh. Thus the Red Army was born and the Soviet regime formally established in Kiangsi. In 1931, the Red Army totalled over a hundred thousand. The period from the birth of the Red Army up to its re-organisation into the national Eighth Route Army after the outbreak of the war against Japan is generally known as the 'Red Army Period'.

The Southern Anhwei Incident — On October 19, 1940, Chiang Kai-shek issued a 'military order' which compelled the New Fourth Army led by the communists to withdraw from the south bank of the Yellow River to its north bank. When the troops arrived at the southern districts in the Anhwei Province, they received a surprise attack by Chiang Kai-shek. As a result, the New Fourth Army suffered very heavy losses and its Commander, General Yeh T'ing was captured.

Yangko — It is a kind of folk dance in North China. Literally it means "rice song", but in practice it consists of a series of improvised, yet highly artistic, movements and songs representing generally a story or a collection of village scenes. Originally it was performed by peasants during the rice planting season. But today it has developed into a form of opera, which enjoys immense popularity in the city as well as in the village throughout the country.

The Yenan Literary Meeting and Chairman Mao Tse-tung's Talks on Literature and Art — In May, 1942 Chairman Mao Tse-tung convened in Yenan a meeting attended by the literary cadres. On May 2, addressing the conference,

Chairman Mao raised some problems for discussion. On May 23, he made a general report winding up the meeting, and pointed out that the direction for revolutionary literature is to serve the interests of the workers, peasants and soldiers. Chairman Mao's report embodies and develops the literary theory of Marxism-Leninism and has been the guiding principle for all the progressive writers. The meeting was an epoch-making event in the history of the Chinese new literary movement.